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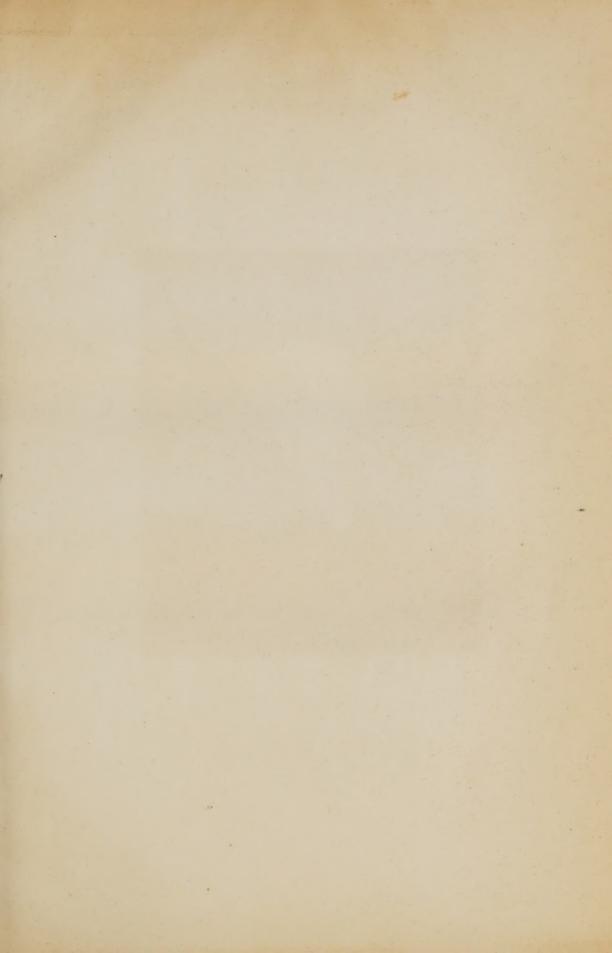
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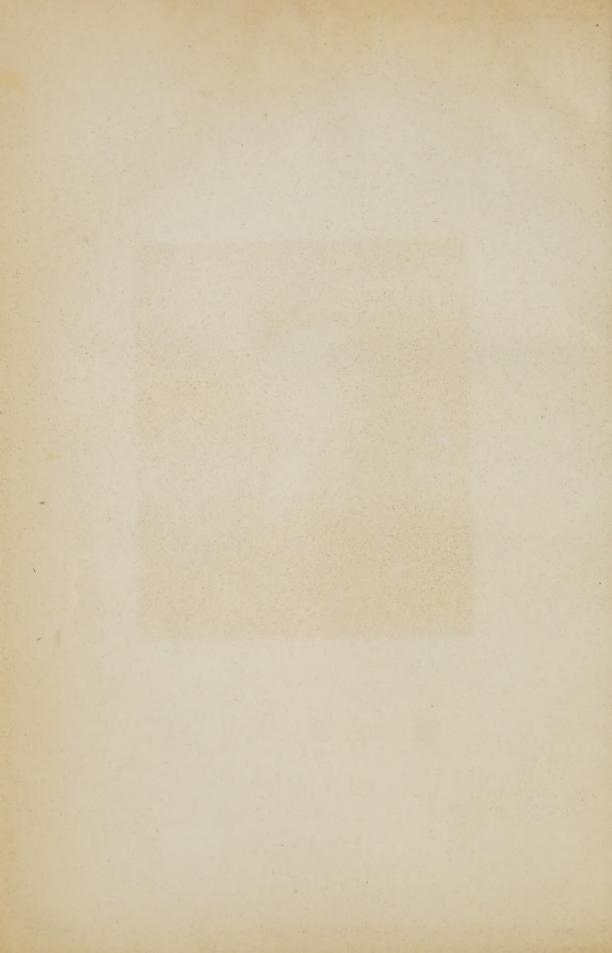
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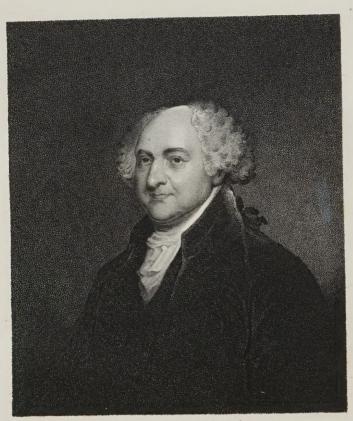
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John Adams



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DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS:

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

In every age and nation distinguished for arts and learning, the inclination of transmitting the memory and even the features of illustrious persons to posterity, has uniformly prevailed. The greatest poets, orators, and historicas, we're contemporaries with the most celebrated painters, statuaries, and engravers of gemeand inedally and the distire to be acquainted with a man's aspect, has ever risen in proportion to the known excellence of his characters; and the admiration of his writings.—Granger.

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1854.

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Among the earliest settlers of the English colonies in New England was a family by the name of Adams. One of the grantees of the charter of Charles the First to the London Company was named Thomas Adams, though it does not appear that he was of those who emigrated with Governor Winthrop, in 1630.

It appears by the Governor's journal, that in 1634 there came a considerable number of colonists, under the pastoral superintendence of the Rev. Thomas Parker, in a vessel from Ipswich, in the county of

Suffolk, in the neighborhood of which is Braintree in Essex.

There was, it seems, after their arrival, some difficulty in deciding where they should be located. It was finally determined that Mount Wollaston, situated within the harbor, and distant about nine miles from the three mountains, and whence the intrusive merry mountaineer Morton had been expelled, should, with an enlarged boundary, be annexed to *Boston*; and the lands within that boundary were granted in various proportions to individuals, chiefly, if not entirely, of the new company from Ipswich.

The settlement soon increased; and feeling, like all the original settlements in New England, the want of religious instruction and social worship, found it a great inconvenience to travel hine or ten miles every Sunday to reach the place of their devotions. In 1636 they began to hold meetings, and to hear occasional preachers, at Mount Wollaston itself. Three years afterwards they associated themselves under a covenant as a Christian Church; and in 1640 were incorporated as

a separate town, by the name of Braintree.

Of this town Henry Adams, junior, was the first town-clerk; and the first pages of the original town records, still extant, are in his handwriting. He was the oldest of eight sons, with whom his father, Henry Adams, had emigrated, probably from Braintree in England, and who had arrived in the vessel from Ipswich in 1634. Henry Adams the

elder, died in 1646, leaving a widow, and a daughter named Ursula besides the eight sons above-mentioned. He had been a brewer in England, and had set up a brewery in his new habitation. This establishment was continued by the youngest but one of his sons, named Joseph. The other sons sought their fortunes in other towns, and chiefly among their first settlers. Henry, who had been the first townclerk of Braintree, removed, at the time of the incorporation of Medfield in 1652, to that place, and was again the first town-clerk there.

Joseph, the son who remained at Braintree, was born in 1626; was at the time of the emigration of the family from England, a boy of eight years old, and died at the age of sixty-eight in 1694, leaving ten children,—five sons and five daughters.

One of these sons, named John, settled in Boston, and was father of Samuel Adams, and grandfather of the revolutionary patriot of that

Another son, named also Joseph, was born in 1654; married Hannah Bass, a daughter of Ruth Alden, and grand-daughter of John Alden of the May Flower, and died in 1736 at the age of eighty-two.

His second son named John, born in 1689, was the father of John Adams, the subject of the present memoir. His mother was Susanna, daughter of Peter Boylston, and niece of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, renowned as the first introducer of inoculation for the small-pox in the British dominions.

This John Adams was born on the 30th October, 1735, at Braintree. His father's elder brother, Joseph, had been educated at Harvard College; and was for upwards of sixty years minister of a Congregational church at Newington, New Hampshire.

John Adams, the father, was a farmer of small estate and a common school education. He lived and died, as his father and grandfather had done before him, in that mediocrity of condition between affluence and poverty, most propitious to the exercise of the ordinary duties of life, and to the enjoyment of individual happiness. He was for many years a deacon of the church, and a select man of the town, without enjoying or aspiring to any higher dignity. He was in his religious opinions, like most of the inhabitants of New England at that time, a rigid Calvinist, and was desirous of bestowing upon his eldest son the benefit of a classical education, to prepare him for the same profession with that of his elder brother, the minister of the gospel at Newington.

John Adams, the son, had at that early age no vocation for the Church, nor even for a college education. Upon his father's asking

him to what occupation in life he would prefer to be raised, he answered that he wished to be a farmer. His father, without attempting directly to control his inclination, replied that it should be as he desired. He accordingly took him out with himself the next day upon the farm, and gave him practical experience of the labors of the plough, the spade, and the scythe. At the close of the day the young farmer told his father that he would go to school. He retained, however, his fondness for farming to the last years of his life.

He was accordingly placed under the tuition of Mr. Marsh, the keeper of a school then residing at Braintree, and who, ten years afterwards, was also the instructor of Josiah Quincy, the celebrated patriot, who lived but to share the first trials and to face the impending terrors of

the revolution.

In 1751, at the age of sixteen, John Adams was admitted as a student at Harvard College, and in 1755 was graduated as Bachelor of Arts. The class to which he belonged stands eminent on the College catalogue, for the unusual number of men distinguished in after-life. Among them were Samuel Locke, some time President of the College; Moses Hemmenway, subsequently a divine of high reputation; Sir John Wentworth, Governor of the province of New Hampshire; William Browne, a judge of the Superior Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and afterwards Governor of the island of Bermuda; David Sewall, many years judge of the District Court of the United States in the district, and afterwards State of Maine; and Tristram Dalton, a Senator of the United States. Three of these had so far distinguished themselves while under-graduates, that, in the traditions of the College, it was for many years afterwards known by the sons of Harvard as the class of Adams, Hemmenway, and Locke.

John Adams, the father, had thus given to his eldest son a liberal education to fit him for the gospel ministry. He had two other sons, Peter Boylston and Elihu, whom he was educating to the profession which John had at first preferred, of farmers. In this profession Peter Boylston continued to the end of a long life, holding for many years a commission as a justice of the peace, and serving for some time the town of Quincy as their representative in the legislature of the Commonwealth. He died in 1822 at the age of eighty-four, leaving numerous descendants among the respectable inhabitants of Quincy and of Boston. Elihu, at the commencement of the Revolution, entered the army as a captain, and with multitudes of others fell a victim to the epidemic dysentery of 1775. He left two sons and one daughter, whose posterity reside in the towns of Randolph, (originally a part of

Braintree,) Abington, and Bridgewater. The daughter was the mother of Aaron Hobart, several years a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, and afterwards of the Council of the Commonwealth.

Among the usages of the primitive inhabitants of the villages of New England, a *liberal*, that is, a college education, was considered as an outfit for life, and equivalent to the double portion of an eldest son. Upon being graduated at the College in 1755, John Adams, at the age of twenty, had received this double portion, and was thenceforth to provide for himself.

"The world was all before him, and Providence his guide."

At the commencement, when he was graduated, there were present one or more of the select-men of the town of Worcester, which was then in want of a teacher for the town school. They proposed to Mr. Adams to undertake this service, and he accepted the invitation. He repaired immediately to Worcester, and took upon him the arduous duties of his office; pursuing at the same time the studies which were to prepare him for the ministry.

His entrance thus upon the theatre of active life was at a period of great political excitement. Precisely at the time when he went to reside at Worcester, occurred the first incidents of the seven years' war, waged between France and Britain for the mastery of the North Ame rican continent. The disaster of Braddock's defeat and death happened precisely at that time, like the shock of an earthquake throughout the British colonies. Politics were the speculation of every mind—the prevailing topic of every conversation. It was then that he wrote to his kinsman, Nathaniel Webb, that prophetic letter which has been justly called a literary phenomenon, and which shadowed forth the future revolution of Independence, and the naval glories of this Union.

His father had fondly cherished the hope that he was raising, by the education of his son, a monumental pillar of the Calvinistic church; and he himself, reluctant at the thought of disappointing the hopes of his father, and unwilling to embrace a profession laboring then under strong prejudices unfavorable to it among the people of New England, had acquiesced in the purpose which had devoted him to the gospel ministry. But the progress of his theological studies soon gave him an irresistible distaste for the Calvinistic doctrines. The writings of Archbishop Tillotson, then at the summit of their reputation; the pro-

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found analysis of Bishop Butler, with his sermons upon human nature and upon the character of Balaam, took such hold upon his memory, his imagination, and his judgment, that they extirpated from his mind every root of Calvinism that had been implanted in it; and the philosophical works of Bolingbroke, then a dazzling novelty in the literary world, although wholly successless in their tendency to shake his faith in the sublime and eternal truths of the gospel, contributed effectively to wean him from the creed of the Genevan Reformer.

About one year after his first arrival at Worcester, after much anxious deliberation and consultation with confidential friends, he resolved to relinquish the study of divinity, and to undertake that of the law. He accordingly entered the office of Col. James Putnam, then a lawyer of reputation at Worcester, and became at the same time an inmate of his house. With him he lived in perfect harmony for the space of two years, pursuing, with indefatigable diligence, the study of the law, and keeping at the same time the town school. In 1758 he completed his preparatory professional studies; relinquished his school, and returned to his paternal mansion at Braintree. He applied, though a total stranger, to Jeremy Gridley, then the most eminent lawyer in New England, and Attorney-general of the Province, to present him to the judges of the Superior Court for admission to the Bar. Mr. Gridley examined him with regard to his proficiency in the studies appropriate to his profession, and warmly recommended him to the Court, securing thereby his admission.

He opened an office, and commenced the practice in his native town. Two years after, in 1760, he lost his father; but continued to reside with his mother and brother till 1764. His attendance upon the Courts in the counties of Suffolk, and of the old colony, was assiduous; but an accidental engagement in a private cause, before the Court at Plymouth, gave him the opportunity to display talents, which brought him immediately into large and profitable practice. In 1762 the seven years' war was concluded by the cession to Great Britain and Spain of all the possessions of France on the continent of North America; and at the same time commenced in England the system of policy, which terminated in the Revolution of Independence. It commenced by an increased rigor of exaction and of restriction in the execution of the laws of trade. For this purpose the officers of the customs were instructed by an order of the royal council, to apply, in cases when they suspected articles of merchandize upon which the duties had not been paid, were concealed, to the justices of the Superior Courts, for writs of assistance, such as were sometimes issued from the Court

of Exchequer in England, authorizing them to enter the houses and warehouses of the merchants, to detect the unlawfully imported goods. This was a new and odious process, to which the merchants in the colonies had never before been subjected; and its legality was immediately contested before the Superior Court. It was substantially the same case as that of the general search warrants, which some years after kindled so fierce and inextinguishable a flame upon the prosecution of John Wilkes in London. The spirit of English liberty was as sensitive and as intractable in the colonies, as it ever had been in the mother country. The remark of Junius, that the dogs and horses of England lost their metal by removing to another hemisphere, but that patriotism was improved by transportation, meant by him for a sarcasm, was a truth too serious for the derision of a British statesman. trial of John Peter Zenger, at New-York, had vindicated the freedom of the press, and the rights of juries, twenty years before they issued victorious from the re-considered opinions of Camden, and the prevaricating wisdom of Mansfield. And in the trial of the writs of assistance, at Boston, James Otis had

"By the known rules of ancient Liberty;"

while the search warrants for the Essay on Woman, and the 45th number of the North Briton, and the Letter of Junius to the King, were slumbering in the womb of futurity.

JOHN ADAMS, at the age of twenty-seven, attended as a member of the bar, the trial upon the writs of assistance, and witnessed the splendid exhibitions of genius and learning exerted in the cause of freedom by the pioneer of American Independence, James Otis. Small is the portion of mankind to whom it is given to discern the great events which control the destinies of nations in their seminal principles. The origin of the American Revolution has been usually ascribed to the Stamp Act; John Adams had seen it in the first campaign of the seven years' war in 1755. He saw and marked its progress on the argument of James Otis upon writs of assistance in 1762; a cause which, although it produced great excitement at the time, would scarcely have been noticed among the historical incidents of the term, but for the minutes, which his curiosity induced him to take of the trial as it proceeded, and from an imperfect copy of which, taken afterwards by one of the law students in his office, the account of it in the subsequent histories of that period has been published.

On the 25th of October, 1764, he was married to Abigail Smith,

second daughter of William Smith, minister of a congregational church at Weymouth, then in her twentieth year.

This was the memorable year of the Stamp Act, and from this year may be dated his first entrance upon political life. His friend and patron, Gridley, had just before that formed, with some other members of the bar and men of literary taste, a small social circle, who met once a week at each other's houses for the discussion of topics of literature and law, oral or in writing. Before this society Mr. Adams one evening read a short paper of Observations on the Feudal and Canon Law, which he afterwards published in the Patriotic newspaper. The sensation which it produced on the public mind was so great, that in the following year it was re-published in London, and there attributed to the pen of Gridley. It has been frequently since re-published, and even now may be considered as a worthy precursor to the declaration of Independence.

Popular commotions prevented the landing of the Stamp Act papers, which had been sent from England to be used in all processes before

the judicial courts.

Thomas Hutchinson, at once the Lieut. Governor and Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the Province, had closed the sessions of the Court, on the pretence that they could not be lawfully held but

by using the stamps.

The suspension of the Courts was severely felt throughout the Province; but especially in the town of Boston, where, after some time, a town meeting was held, at which it was determined to present a petition to the Governor and Council, that the Courts of justice might be forthwith re-opened; and they prayed to be heard by counsel in support of the petition. This was accorded, and the counsel appointed by the town were Jeremy Gridley, then Attorney-general, James Otis, and John Adams, then a young man of thirty, and not even an inhabitant of the town. The Governor and Council had not ventured to refuse hearing counsel in support of the town petition; but, perhaps, from the same timid policy, would hear them only with closed doors, and without admitting any supernumerary hearers. They suggested to the three gentlemen, who represented the town, the expediency of deciding between themselves the points upon which they proposed to support the petition. Mr. Gridley, the officer of the crown, without entering upon the question of right, represented only the general and severe distress suffered by all classes of the people, not only of the town, but of the whole province, by the suspension of all proceedings in the Judicial Courts. Mr. Otis argued, that from this unfore-

seen and unexampled state of things, the nature of the case gave a right of necessity, authorizing the Governor and Council to command the re-opening of the Court until the pleasure of the authority beyond the sea could be known. Mr. Adams assumed, as the basis of his argument, that the British Parliament had no right of taxation over the colonies. That the Stamp Act was an assumption of power, unwarranted by, and inconsistent with, the principles of the English constitution, and with the charter of the Province. That it was null and void; binding neither upon the people, nor upon the courts of justice in the colony; and that it was the duty of the Governor and Council to require of the judges of the Courts, that they should resume their judicial Courts, and proceed without exacting from suitors, or applying to their own records, the use of any stamps whatever. This, and a cotemporaneous resolution of the same import, introduced into the House of Representatives of the Province by Samuel Adams, are believed to have been the first direct denial of the unlimited right of legislation of Parliament over the colonies in the progress of that controversy. In the argument before the Governor and Council, it could be assumed only by Mr. Adams. Mr. Gridley being at that time the king's Attorney-general, and Mr. Otis having, in a celebrated pamphlet on the rights of the colonies, shortly before published, admitted the right of taxation to be among the lawful authorities of Parliament.

The Governor and Council deferred their decision upon the petition of the town, and before the period arrived for the next regular session of the Superior Court, the intelligence came of the repeal of the Stamp Act, and relieved them from the necessity of any decision upon it.

The selection of Mr. Adams as one of the law council of the town of Boston upon this memorable occasion, was at once an introduction to a career of political eminence, and a signal advancement of his professional reputation as a lawyer. He had already, as chairman of a committee of the town of Braintree, draughted instructions, on the subject of the Stamp Act, to the Representative of the town in the general court, which had been published, and attracted much notice; and he was shortly after elected one of the select-men of the town.

He had formed an intimate acquaintance and warm friendship with Jonathan Sewall, who had married a Miss Quincy, a relation of Mr. Adams. Sewall, a man of fine talents, distinguished as an orator and a writer, had commenced his career as a patriot; but had been drawn over by the artifices of Bernard and Hutchinson, and by lucrative and honorable offices, to the royal cause. Through him the office of advocate-general was offered to Mr. Adams, which he declined, though

tendered with an assurance that no sacrifice of his political sentiments would be expected from him by his acceptance of the office. He was already known in that Court by the defence of Ansell Nickerson, an American seaman, who, in self-defence against a press-gang from a king's ship in the harbor of Boston, had killed, with the stroke of a harpoon, their commander, Lieut. Panton. Mr. Adams's defence was, that the usage of impressment had never extended to the colonies; that the attempt to impress Nickerson was, on the part of Lieutenant Panton, unlawful; and that the act of Nickerson in killing him was justifiable homicide. Although the commander of the naval force on the American station, Captain Hood, afterwards Lord Hood, a name illustrious in the naval annals of Britain, was a member of the Court which decided the fate of Nickerson, he was acquitted and discharged; and thus, even before the question of Parliamentary taxation had been brought to its issue in blood, it was solemnly settled that the royal prerogative of impressment did not extend to the colonies. That prerogative, so utterly irreconcileable with the fundamental principle of the great charter, "nullus homo capietur," that dark spot on the snow-white standard of English freedom, that brand of servitude which Foster, from the judicial bench, stamped on the forehead of the British seaman; that shame to the legislation of the mother country, was, by the exertions of John Adams, banished from the code of colonial law.

In the inimitable portrait of the just man drawn by the great Roman Lyric Poet, he is said to be equally immovable from his purpose by the flashing eye of the tyrant, and by the burning fury of a multitude commanding him to do wrong. Of all revolutions, ancient or modern, that of American Independence was pre-eminently popular. It was emphatically the revolution of the people. Not one noble name of the parent realm is found recorded upon its annals, as armed in the defence of the cause of freedom, or assisting in the councils of the confederacy; a few foreign nobles, La Fayette, De Kalb, Pulaski, Steuben, Du Portail, Du Coudray, and a single claimant of a British peerage, Lord Stirling, warmed by the spirit of freedom, and stimulated by the electric spark of military adventure, joined the standard of our country; and more than one of them laid down their lives in her cause. Of the natives of the land, not one-not Washington himself-could be justly styled the founder of Independence. The title of Liberator, since applied to an immeasurably inferior man in another continent of this hemisphere, could not be, and never was, applied to Washington. Of the nation, formed after the revolution was accomplished, he was by

the one people placed at the head; of the revolution itself, he was but the arm.

North American Independence was achieved by a new phenomenon in the history of mankind,—by a self-formed, self-constituted, and self-governed Democracy. There were leaders of the people in the several colonies; there were representatives of the colonies, and afterwards of the States in the continental Congress; there was a continental army, a continental navy, and a continental currency; agents, factors, and soldiers; but the living soul, the vivifying spirit of the whole, was a steady, firm, resolute, inflexible will of the people, marching through fire and sword, and pestilence and famine, and bent to march, were it through the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds—to Independence.

The objections urged from time immemorial against the democracies of former ages were, the instability of the popular will-the impetuosity of their passions—the fluctuation of their counsels, and the impossibility of resisting their occasional and transitory animosities and resentments. Little of all this was seen in the course of the North American revolution. Even before its outset the people were trained to a spirit of self-control, well suited to prepare them for the trials that awaited them, and to carry them triumphantly through the fiery ordeal. No event contributed more to the formation of this spirit than the tragedy of the 5th of March, 1770, and its consequences. To suppress the popular commotions which the system of Parliamentary taxation had excited and could not fail to provoke, two regiments of soldiers were stationed at Boston; and becoming daily more odious to the inhabitants, were exposed to continual insults from the unguarded and indiscreet among them. On the 5th of March, a small party of the soldiers, under command of Lieut. Preston, were thus assailed and insulted by a crowd of people gathering round them, until they fired upon them, and killed and wounded several persons. The passions of the people were roused to the highest pitch of indignation, but manifested themselves by no violence or excess. Lieutenant Preston and six of the soldiers were arrested by the civil authority, and tried before the Superior Court for murder. They were so well advised as to apply to John Adams and Josiah Quincy, known as among the most ardent among the patriots, to defend them; and they hesitated not to undertake the task. The momentary passions of the people identified the sufferings of the victims of that night with the cause of the country, and JOHN ADAMS and Josiah Quincy were signalized as deserters from the standard of freedom. How great was the load of public obloquy under

which they labored, lives yet in the memory of surviving witnesses; and is recorded in the memoir of the life of Josiah Quincy, which the filial veneration of a son, worthy of such a father, has given to the world. Among the most affecting incidents related in that volume, and the most deeply interesting documents appended to it, are the recital of this event, and the correspondence between Josiah Quincy the defender of the soldiers and his father on that occasion. The fortitude of John Adams was brought to a test equally severe; as the elder council for the prisoners on trial, it was his duty to close the argument in their defence. The writer of this article has often heard from individuals, who had been present among the crowd of spectators at the trial, the electrical effect produced upon the jury, and upon the immense and excited auditory, by the first sentence with which he opened his defence; which was the following citation from the then recently published work of Beccaria.

"May it please your Honors, and you, Gentlemen of the Jury.

"I am for the prisoners at the bar, and shall apologize for it only in the words of the Marquis Beccaria. 'If I can but be the instrument of preserving one life, his blessing and tears of transport shall be a sufficient consolation to me for the contempt of all mankind.'"

Captain Preston and the soldiers were acquitted, excepting two, who were found guilty of manslaughter, an offence which, being at that time entitled to the benefit of clergy, was subject to no sharper penalty than the gentle application of a cold iron to the hand, and, except as a warning for the future, was equivalent to an acquittal.

The town of Boston instituted an annual commemoration of the massacre of the 5th of March, by the delivery of an oration to the inhabitants assembled in town meeting. This anniversary was thus celebrated for a succession of thirteen years, until the close of the Revolutionary War, when that of the 4th of July, the day of national Independence, was substituted in its place. The Boston massacre is, however, memorable as the first example of those annual commemorations by public discourses ever since so acceptable to the people.

Within two months after the trial of the soldiers, Mr. Adams received a new testimonial of the favor and confidence of his townsmen, by their election of him as one of their Representatives in the General Court or Colonial Legislature. In this body the conflict of principles between metropolitan authority and British colonial liberty was pertinaciously maintained. Sir Francis Bernard had just before closed his inglorious career, by seeking refuge in his own country from the in-

dignation of the people over whom he had been sent to rule. He was succeeded by Thomas Hutchinson, a native of the province, a man of considerable talent, great industry, and of grasping ambition; who, in evil hour for himself, preferred the path of royal favor to that of patriotism for the ascent to power and fortune.

In times of civil commotion, the immediate subject of contention between the parties scarcely ever discloses to the superficial observer the great questions at issue between them. The first collision between Hutchinson and the two branches of the General Court was about the place where they were to hold their sessions.

Hutchinson, by instructions, secretly suggested by himself, convened the General Court at Cambridge, instead of Boston. They claimed it as a chartered right to meet at the town-house in Boston; and hence a long controversy between the Governor and the two houses, which, after three years of obstinate discussion, terminated by the restoration of the Legislature to their accustomed place of meeting.

By the charter of the colony, the members of the House of Representatives were annually elected by the people of the towns, and twentyeight counsellors by the House of Representatives and council, with the approbation of the Governor. The judges of the Superior Court were appointed by the Governor and Council; and the Governor, Lieutenant-governor, and Judges were paid by annual grants from the General Court. In ordinary times the Council had always been more friendly to the Executive administration, and less disposed to resist the transatlantic authority than the House; but as the contest with the mother country grew warmer, and the country party in the House stronger, they dropped in their elections to the Council all the partizans of the Court, and elected none but the most determined patriots to the council board. The only resource of the Governor was to disapprove the most obnoxious of the persons elected, and thus to exclude a few of the most prominent leaders; but in their places the House always elected others of the same principles.

Among the devices to which, at the instigation of Hutchinson himself, the British Government resorted to remedy these disorders, was that of vacating the charter of the colony; of reserving to the King in council the appointment of the councillors, and of paying by Parliamentary authority the Governor and Judges, himself. The drift of these changes could not be mistaken. Hutchinson, who affected the character of a profound constitutional lawyer, entered into long and elaborate discussion of the rights and authority of Parliament in messages to the General Court, which were answered separately by re-

ports of committees in both Houses. In the composition of these papers Mr. Adams was frequently employed, together with his distinguished relative, Samuel Adams. For the discussion of profound constitutional questions, the education of John Adams as a lawyer, had pre-eminently qualified him to cope with Hutchinson in his black letter messages; and for the arguments on chartered rights and statutory law, he was relied upon beyond all others.

In 1772, having removed to his primitive residence at Braintree, he ceased to represent the town of Boston in the Legislature; but he was soon after elected to the council, and negatived by the Governor. In 1774 he was elected one of the members from the colony of Massachusetts Bay to the Continental Congress; and on the first meeting of that body, on the 5th of September of that year, took his seat among the founders of the North American Union. His service in Congress continued until November, 1777, when he was chosen by that body, in the place of Silas Deane, a joint commissioner at the Court of France, with Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee.

He embarked for France on the 13th of February, 1778, in the Boston frigate, commanded by Samuel Tucker; and, after a most tempestuous passage of forty-five days, landed at Bordeaux in France. The recognition by France of the Independence of the United States, and the conclusion of the treaties of commerce and of alliance between the two nations, had taken place between the appointment of Mr. Adams and his arrival at Paris.

After the ratification of those treaties, Congress thought proper to substitute a single minister plenipotentiary at the court of France.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin was appointed the minister. Arthur Lee had previously received a separate commission as minister to the Court of Spain. Mr. Adams, without waiting for a letter of recall, returned in the summer of 1779, in the French frigate La Sensible, to the United States. The French minister to the United States, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, together with his secretary of legation, since highly distinguished through all the scenes of the French Revolution, Barbe de Marbois, were passengers in the same frigate. They arrived at Boston on the 2d of August, 1779. Precisely at that time the convention which formed the constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was about to assemble, and Mr. Adams was returned to it as a member from the town of Braintree.

The convention assembled at Cambridge on the 1st of September, 1779, and, after appointing a committee of thirty-one members to prepare a declaration of rights, and a constitution for the Commonwealth,

adjourned over, on the 7th of that month, to the 28th of October ensuing, to receive the report of the committee. Mr. Adams was a member of this committee, and made the first draught of the declaration of rights and of the constitution reported to the convention.

But, in the interval of the adjournment, Mr. Adams had received from Congress a new commission for the negotiation of peace with Great Britain; in pursuance of which he embarked on the 14th of November, at Boston, in the same French frigate in which he had returned to the United States. Her destination was Brest; but having sprung a leak on her passage, and being in danger of foundering, she was obliged to make the first European port, which was that of Ferrol in Spain. There she arrived on the 7th of December, and thence Mr. Adams travelled, in mid-winter, by land to Paris.

The events of the Revolutionary war were not yet sufficiently matured for the negotiation of peace. Soon after the appointment of MR. Adams to this service, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, then President of Congress, was appointed minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the United Netherlands, with a separate commission to negotiate a loan of money in that country. On his passage to Europe, Mr. Laurens was captured by a British cruizer, and was lodged in the tower of London as a prisoner of state. Mr. Adams then received a commission for the same service, and a new appointment was made of five commissioners for the negotiation of peace. These were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson; the last of whom was, however, prevented by the circumstances of his family from proceeding to Europe until after the conclusion of the peace. In July, 1780, Mr. Adams left Paris and went to Holland, where, as a preliminary to the negotiation of a treaty of amity and commerce, it was necessary to procure the recognition of the United States as an independent power. The negotiation for a loan was a separate power to contract with individuals. In both these negotiations Mr. Adams was eminently successful. The condition of the United Netherlands at that time required a different mode of negotiation from that which was suitable with the other nations of Continental Europe. They constituted a free, confederated republic; with a prince allied to many of the European sovereigns, and especially to the Kings of Great Britain and of Prussia, at their head. The politics of the country were discussed in the Legislative Assemblies of the several provinces, and the freedom of the press opened avenues to the hearts of the people. In point of form, MR. ADAMS, as the representative of the United States claiming to be a sove-

reign and independent power, was to address the President of the States General, which he did in a memorial claiming to be received as a public minister; but setting forth all the arguments suited to produce an impression upon the minds of the people favorable to the objects of his mission. The President of the States General received the memorial, and laid it before the Assembly, who referred it to the Legislative Assemblies of the several provinces for consideration; Mr. Adams caused it forthwith to be published in the English, French, and Dutch languages in pamphlets; and it was re-published in many of the newspapers and other periodical journals of the country. No public document of the revolution was ever so widely circulated; for, as an extraordinary state paper, it was re-published in every country and every language of Europe. Its success was not less remarkable than the extent of its circulation. It set in motion the whole population of the Netherlands. Popular petitions, numerously signed, poured in upon the States of the provinces, praying for the recognition of the Independence of the United States, and the reception of Mr. Adams as their minister. The similarity of the condition of the United States to that of the Netherlands in their struggle for Independence against Spain, strongly urged in the memorial, became a favorite topic for popular feeling in all the provincial Assemblies. The Leyden Gazette, edited by John Luzac, one of the most accomplished scholars of the age, and one of the purest republican spirits of any age or clime, was engaged with deep and fervid interest in the cause of America, stimulated, even to enthusiasm, by the personal friendship formed with the kindred spirit of John Adams. Another Frenchman of great ability. and highly distinguished as the author of the best history extant, in the French language, of the United Provinces, A. M. Cerisier, at the instance of Mr. Adams, commenced a weekly journal under the title of "the Politique Hollandais," devoted exclusively to the communication of correct intelligence from America, and to set forth the community of principles and of interests between the new and the old republic. Having formed an intimate acquaintance with an eminent lawyer at Amsterdam, named Calkoen, that gentleman, who was a member of a political and literary society which held private weekly meetings, addressed sundry queries to Mr. Adams respecting the state of the war. the condition of the people in the United States, and their dispositions with regard to the cause of Independence; which he answered in twenty-six letters, since frequently published. They were read and discussed at the meetings of the society, and furnished facts and argument for the friends of America and of freedom to counteract the influence

and the misrepresentations of the English party or Anglomanes, always numerous and powerful in the United Netherlands. The armed neutrality of the north, and the insolent, domineering tone of Sir Joseph York, the British minister at the Hague, contributed to the excitement of the people in favor of the American cause; and after patiently waiting till the state of public opinion was sufficiently matured, Mr. Adams ventured upon a step, the boldness of which could only be justified by success. He addressed a note to the States General, which he delivered in person to their President, referring to the memorial which he had twelve months before presented; proposing a treaty of amity and commerce between the two nations, and demanding a categorical answer which he might transmit to his sovereign.

With this demand the States General of the United Netherlands promptly complied. The Independence of the United States was formally recognized by the reception of Mr. Adams as their minister. A commission, consisting of one member from each of the Provinces, was appointed to treat with him; and with them he concluded the treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce of 8th October, 1782; still recognized at this day by the United States, and by the present king of Holland, as the law of commercial intercourse between the two nations.

While conducting this political negotiation, Mr. Adams had also contracted with three banking houses at Amsterdam, a loan of five millions of florins, at a yearly interest of five per cent.; furnishing, at a critical period of the war, a most seasonable supply to the exhausted

treasury of the United States.

The day after the conclusion of the commercial treaty, and of a convention concerning maritime prizes of the same date, Mr. Adams proceeded to Paris, where the negotiation for peace with Great Britain had already been commenced between his colleagues, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay; first with certain informal agents appointed by the British Government, and afterwards with Richard Oswald, formerly commissioned by George the Third to treat for peace with the commissioners of the United States of America. This negotiation terminated in the preliminary articles of peace of 30th November, 1782; succeeded by the definitive treaty also concluded at Paris on the 3rd of September, 1783.

The responsibilities of public men in stations of high dignity and trust in ordinary and prosperous times, are sufficiently arduous for the trial of the tempers of men; but the labors, the anxieties, the perturbations of mind incident to the condition of a man charged with the duty of maintaining, in a desperate conflict with oppressive power, not only

his own character and honor, but the existence of his country, can scarcely be conceivable to an American of the present age. They stagger the firmness of the most intrepid soul. They prey upon a bodily frame hardy as the Nemæan lion's nerve. Blessed with an excellent natural constitution, Mr. Adams had in early youth ever plied it with intense study and indefatigable professional labor; from the time that he had become engaged in the service of his country, his days and nights had been devoted to the performance of his duties. In the midst of his negotiations in Holland he was brought within a hair's breadth of the grave by a typhus fever, in the summer of 1781, at Amsterdam; and a few days after the signature of the definitive treaty of peace, he was taken with a slow nervous fever, which again brought him to death's door. To promote his recovery, he was advised by his physician to indulge himself in a temporary relaxation from public business; and in October, 1783, he made his first visit to England, where, though in a private capacity, upon the meeting of Parliament, he heard the lips of George the Third on his throne, announce to his people, that he had concluded a definitive treaty of peace with the United States of America.

In January, 1784, he was suddenly called back to his post, in Holland, to negotiate a new loan of two millions of florins, which had become necessary for the punctual payment of the interest upon that which had been previously contracted, and which he effected upon terms equally advantageous. On his return to the Hague, he held conferences with the Baron de Thulemeyer, the minister of the great Frederic of Prussia, commissioned by him to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States. While engaged in this discussion, Congress had appointed John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, commissioners to negotiate treaties of commerce with any of the European powers, or of the Barbary States, which might be inclined to form such engagements.

The commission met at Paris, in August, 1794, and communicated, through the ministers of the several powers of Europe, their powers to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce. But under this commission, the treaty which had been already nearly concluded by Mr. Adams and the Baron de Thulemeyer was the only one accomplished in Europe. In the spring of 1785, Doctor Franklin, at the age of nearly four-score, and laboring under the painful disease which finally closed his illustrious life, returned to the United States. Mr. Jefferson was appointed his successor at the Court of France, and Mr. Adams received a commission as the first minister plenipotentiary of the United

States at the Court of the British king. They still remained jointly charged with the commission for negotiating treaties of commerce, under which was concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Morocco, and a commercial treaty with Portugal; the ratification of which by the Portuguese Government was withheld, under the controlling influence of Great Britain at that Court.

In May, 1785, Mr. Adams proceeded to London, where he was received by George the Third as the minister of the Independent States of North America. He was authorized to form a commercial treaty with Great Britain of the most liberal character; but a proud and mortified spirit had succeeded in the breast of the monarch, and a resentful and jealous rivalry in the temper of the nation, to the cruel and desolating war, which for seven years had been waged to subdue the North American people. In that people, too, an irritated and resentful temper still rankled long after the conflict for independence had closed. Mutual charges of bad faith in failing to execute the articles of the treaty of peace, but two well founded on both sides, continued the alienation of heart between the nations, which the contest and the separation had caused. The British Government had, indeed, more than plausible reasons for declining to conclude a commercial treaty with a Congress, which had not even authority to carry into execution the stipulations of the treaty of peace. After a residence in England of three years, in June, 1778, Mr. Adams returned to the United States, precisely at the moment when the ratification, by nine States, of the constitution, had established the form of government for the Union, under which we yet live.

During his residence in England he had composed and published, in three volumes, his Defence of the Constitutions of the United States,—a treatise upon Goverment, afterwards called the History of the principal Republics of the World; a work which has contributed more than any other ever written, to settle the opinions of mankind upon the great question, whether the legislative power of a free state should be vested in a single assembly, or in two separate co-ordinate branches; incidental to which is the question, not less important, of a single or a plural executive. Upon these points there is now scarcely any diversity of opinion among the enlightened theorists of Government.

Just before his return to the United States, Mr. Adams had been elected, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, a member of Congress, under the articles of Confederation; but that body was in a virtual state of dissolution. The constitution of the United States had received the sanction of the people. The times and places for holding the

elections to organize the new government, had been fixed and the semblance of authority, which was all that the Confederation Congress had ever possessed, was vanishing even before the fabric of its more efficient substitute was completed.

In December, 1788, the first elections were held for carrying into execution the Constitution of the United States; at which George Washington was unanimously chosen President, and John Adams was elected Vice-President of the Union; and four years afterwards they were both, in like manner, re-elected to the same offices. At the close of the second term, Washington declined a second re-election, and Mr. Adams was chosen President of the United States.

During the eight years of Washington's administration, Mr. Adams presided in the Senate. Throughout the whole of both those terms he

gave to the administration a firm and efficient support.

Wherever there is Government, there must be councils of administration and collisions of opinion, concerning its mode and its measures. In all governments, therefore, there are parties which necessarily become braided, and, too often, entangled with the personal characters, principles, passions, and fortunes of individual men. No sooner had the founder of the Christian faith laid the corner-stone, for the establishment of the purest and most self-sacrificing of all religions, by the selection of the twelve apostles, than ambition and avarice, the thirst of

place and treachery, were disclosed among them.

The Constitution of the United States was the result of a compromise between parties, which had existed from the first formation of the American Union. It drew together, by closer ties, the inhabitants of an extensive country, chiefly descended from one common stock, but greatly diversified by the varieties of climates, and of soils on which they had settled, and the oppositions of religious and political opinions in which they had originated. It made them permanently, and by political organization, what the enthusiasm of a common struggle for freedom, common sufferings and common dangers had made them for a time, in the war of Independence, but which the imbecility of the Articles of Confederation had failed to sustain, it made them One People. This stupendous monument of wisdom and virtue was accomplished by a party—then known by the denomination of Federalists; a name which, from various causes, has since become a term of reproach, but which, at that time, Washington and Madison were alike proud of bearing. In the disjointed condition of the confederacy, there was but one man whose talents and services had rivetted him in the gratitude and affections of all his countrymen, and that was, the

leader of the armies of the Revolution. He presided in the convention which formed the Constitution; and no one can analyse that instrument without perceiving that much of its character, and expecially the construction of its executive power, was adapted to him, and fashioned upon the preconception that the office would be occupied by him.

Nor was this anticipation disappointed. He was twice elected by the unanimous suffrages of the electoral colleges President of the United States. But he was scarcely installed in office, and the wheels of the new machine of government had scarcely began to move, when the spirit of party, transferred from the confederacy to the constitution, sought, in the principal subordinate officers of the government, leaders for the succession, to be thereafter seated in the chair of Washington. These leaders immediately presented themselves in the persons of Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, and Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. In the diversity of the principles of these two men, conflict immediately sprung up, as to those which should govern the administration. Those of Hamilton were more congenial to the mind of Washington, and became the ruling principles of the administration; upon which Jefferson retired from public office, and was thenceforward looked up to as the head of the opposition to Washington's administration. Before the close of Washington's second term, Hamilton had also retired, but continued to support his administration.

At the time when Mr. Adams was chosen President of the United States, he was supported by the party which had sustained the administration. Jefferson was his competitor, as the leader of the opposition. The contest was close. Mr. Adams was elected by a bare majority of the electoral votes; and by the provision of the constitution then existing, that both candidates should be voted for as President, and that the person having the highest number of votes short of a majority should be Vice-President, Mr. Jefferson was elected to that office; and thus the head of the opposition became the presiding officer in the Senate of the United States, and at the next election, in Decem-

ber, 1800, was chosen President of the United States.

On the 3d of March, 1801, the official term of Mr. Adams expired, and he retired to his residence at Quincy, where he passed the

remainder of his days.

The administration of Mr. Adams was but a continuation of that of his predecessor. It was the practical execution of the constitution, by the party which had formed and fashioned it, and had succeeded against a determined and persevering opposition in procuring its acceptance by the people. Mr. Jefferson had availed himself of the

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passions and prejudices of the people to obtain the possession of power, constantly modifying his opposition according to the fluctuations of public opinion, and taking advantage of every error, in the policy of the federal party, to which an odious imputation could be applied. In the course of their common service in Congress during the War of Independence, and in that of the joint commission in Europe after the peace, the most cordial harmony had subsisted between him and Mr. ADAMS. Their views of the French Revolution first divided them; and upon a re-publication in this country of one of Thomas Paine's revolutionary pamphlets, Mr. Jefferson, in a note to the printer, recommended it as a corrective to the political heresies then in circulation. The allusion was universally understood as intended to apply to the publication of certain essays, under the title of Discourses on Davila, and known to be written by Mr. Adams. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to MR. Adams, disclaimed all such intention; but his subsequent deportment, and the essential diversity of their opinions, gradually alienated them from each other, and dissolved the personal friendship which had subsisted between them. During the administration of Mr. Jefferson there was no personal intercourse between them; but when the great questions of the rights of neutral commerce, and the outrageous impressment of American seamen by the naval officers of Great Britain, brought the Government of the United States into imminent danger, MR. Adams, though remaining in private life, sacrificed all his resentments and by numerous writings in the public journals, gave the most efficient support to the administration of his successor.

In 1809 Mr. Jefferson himself was succeeded by his friend and most faithful counsellor, James Madison. During his administration, the controversies with Great Britain, in the midst of which Mr. Jefferson had retired, rankled into a war, precisely at the time when the tide of victory and of triumph was turning in favor of Britain, against Napoleon, at the closing stage of that revolution by which France had passed from an absolute monarchy, through a brutal and sanguinary mock-democracy, to a military despotism, and thence to the transient resurrection of the dry bones of the Bourbons.

In the contests with Great Britain concerning neutral rights and impressment, which had preceded and led to the war, the interests of the commercial portion of the community were most immediately and deeply involved. But Mr. Jefferson's system of defence consisted in

cession of military triumphs, had alarmed the American politicians of the federal school, till they had frightened themselves into the belief that Napoleon Bonaparte was affecting universal empire, and about to become master of the world. They believed also, that Great Britain presented the only obstacle to the accomplishment of this design; and in this panic-terror, they lost all sense of the injustice and insolence of Great Britain exercised upon themselves. The restrictive system bore most impressively upon New England, to whose people, commerce, navigation, and the fisheries, were necessaries of life; and they felt the restrictive system as aggravation rather than relief. When the war came, it was a total annihilation of all their modes of industry, and of their principal resources of subsistence. They transferred their resentments from the foreign aggressor to their own Government, and became disaffected to the Union itself. The party in opposition to Mr. Madison's Administration prevailed throughout all the New England States; and had the war continued one year longer, there is little doubt that the floating projects of a separation, and of a northern confederacy, would have ripened into decisive action. Throughout the whole of this ordeal, Mr. Adams constantly supported the Administration of Mr. Madison, till the conclusion of the peace at Ghent, in December, 1814, scattered the projects of the northern confederacy to the winds, and restored, for a short and happy interval, the era of good feelings.

In December, 1820, Mr. Adams was chosen one of the electors of President and Vice-President of the United States; and, together with all his colleagues of the electoral College of Massachusetts, voted for the re-election of James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins to those offices.

The last public service in which Mr. Adams was engaged, was as a member of the convention to revise the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, of which body he was unanimously chosen President. Then in the 86th year of his age, he declined to assume the arduous duties of that station, but gave his attendance as a member throughout the sessions of the convention, and occasionally took part in their debates.

This election was communicated to Mr. Adams by a Committee of the Convention, with the following resolutions:—

"In Convention, November 15, 1820.

"Whereas, the Honorable John Adams, a member of this Convention, and elected the President thereof, has, for more than half a

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century, devoted the great powers of his mind, and his profound wisdom and learning, to the service of his country and mankind:

In fearlessly vindicating the rights of the North American provinces against the usurpations and encroachments of the superintendant government:

In diffusing a knowledge of the principles of civil liberty among his fellow subjects, and exciting them to a firm and resolute defence of the privileges of freemen:

In early conceiving, asserting, and maintaining the justice and practicability of establishing the independence of the United States of America:

In giving the powerful aid of his political knowledge in the formation of the Constitution of his native State, which constitution became in a great measure the model of those which were subsequently formed:

In conciliating the favor of foreign powers, and obtaining their countenance and support in the arduous struggle for independence:

In negotiating the treaty of peace, which secured forever the sovereignty of the United States, and in defeating all attempts to prevent it; and especially in preserving in that treaty the vital interest of the New England States:

In demonstrating to the world, in his defence of the Constitutions of the several united States, the contested principle, since admitted as an axiom, that checks and balances in legislative power, are essential to true liberty:

In devoting his time and talents to the service of the nation, in the high and important trusts of Vice-President and President of the United States:

And lastly, in passing an honorable old age in dignified retirement, in the practice of all the domestic virtues, thus exhibiting to his countrymen and to posterity, an example of true greatness of mind and ot genuine patriotism:—

Therefore, Resolved, That the members of this convention, representing the people of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, do joyfully avail themselves of this opportunity to testify their respect and gratitude to this eminent patriot and statesman, for the great services rendered by him to his country, and their high gratification that, at this late period of life, he is permitted by Divine Providence to assist them with his counsel in revising the constitution which, forty years ago, his wisdom and prudence assisted to form.

Resolved, That a committee of twelve be appointed by the chair, to

communicate this proceeding to the honorable John Adams, to inform him of his election to preside in this body, and to introduce him to the chair of this convention.

In this resolution, honorable alike to the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to their representatives by whom it was adopted, and to him whom it intended to honor, is contained a concentrated summary of the life, character, and services of John Adams. It closes with appropriate dignity his career as a public man.

Nor was he less exemplary in all the relations of private and domestic life. As a son, a husband, a brother, a father, and a friend, his affections were ardent, disinterested and faithful. His filial piety not exclusively confined to his immediate parents, carefully preserved the memorials of their ancestors, for three preceding generations, to the patriarch, first settler of Braintree, Henry Adams, and he caused to be erected in the cemetery, where

"Each in his narrow cell for ever laid, The rude fore-fathers of the hamlet sleep,"

monuments of the solid and simple granite from the soil on which they had settled, recording their names and years, spelt by no unlettered muse, but embracing in the inscription of little more than those dates, all that remains of their short and simple annals.

In the common experience of mankind, friendship, the pleasures of which are among the choicest enjoyments of life, is yet a sentiment of so delicate a texture, that it almost invariably sinks under the collision of adverse interests and conflicting opinions. With contests of opinion untainted with opposing interests, friendship may indeed subsist unimpaired; but in the discussion of religious or political opinions, which divide the minds of men, interest and opinion act and re-act upon each other, till the tender bloom of friendship withers and dies under their chilling frost. So fared it with the friendship formed by MR. Adams in early life with Jonathan Sewall. So fared it with the friendship formed in a common service, in the trying scenes of the war of Independence, with Thomas Jefferson. An affecting passage in his diary in 1774, records the pang with which he had parted from the friend of his youth, and an intercourse of mutual respect, and good-will was restored between them after the close of the revolutionary war. reconciliation with Mr. Jefferson was, by the interposition of a common friend, effected, after all collisions of interests had subsided; and for the last ten years of their lives a friendly and frequent correspondence was maintained, with mutual satisfaction, between them. Many of those

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letters have been published, equally creditable to both; and that of Mr. Jefferson upon the decease of Mrs. Adams, in October, 1818, as an effusion of sympathy with the severest of earthly afflictions, in the administration of tender and delicate condolence, has never been surpassed.

They died on one and the same day, the jubilee of the day of Independence—a coincidence so remarkable, that men of a religious turn of mind, in days of more devoted faith, would have regarded it as a special interposition of Providence, to stamp on the hearts of their country, and of unnumbered future ages, a more indelible remembrance of that memorable event, and of the share which they had jointly taken in its imperishable deed.

The death of John Adams occurred on the 4th of July, 1826, at the moment when his fellow-citizens, of his native town of Quincy, were celebrating in a social banquet, to which he had been invited, the anniversary of the Nation's Independence. His physical faculties had gradually declined in the lapse of years, leaving his intellect clear

and bright to the last hour of his life.

Some years before his decease he had, by two several deeds of gift, conveyed to the inhabitants of the town of Quincy, his library and several valuable lots of land, the proceeds of the income of which were to be devoted to the erection of a stone temple for the worship of God, and of a school-house for a classical school.

Shortly after his death, the worshippers at the first Congregational church in Quincy, of which he had been a member, determined, with the aid of his donation to erect the temple, which was done in the year 1828; and after it was completed, his mortal remains, with those of the partner of his life, were deposited side by side in a vault beneath its walls.

Within the same house, a plain, white marble slab, on the righhand of the pulpit, surmounted by his bust, (the work of Horatio Greenough,) bears the following inscription, written by his eldest son.

Libertatem, Amicitiam, Fidem, Retinebis.

D. O. M.

Beneath these walls

Are deposited the mortal remains of

JOHN ADAMS,

Son of John and Susanna (Boylston) Adams, Second President of the United States.

Born ¹⁹/₃₀ October, 1735.

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On the fourth of July, 1776, He pledged his Life, Fortune, and sacred Honour To the INDEPENDENCE OF HIS COUNTRY.

On the third of September, 1783,

He affixed his seal to the definitive treaty with Great Britain,

Which acknowledged that independence,

And consummated the redemption of his pledge.

On the fourth of July, 1826,

He was summoned

To the Independence of Immortality
And to the JUDGMENT OF HIS GOD.

This House will bear witness to his piety;
This Town, his birth-place, to his munificence;
History to his patriotism;
Posterity to the depth and compass of his mind.

At his side

Sleeps, till the trump shall sound,

ABIGAIL,

His beloved and only wife,

Daughter of William and Elizabeth (Quincy) Smith.

In every relation of life a pattern

Of filial, conjugal, maternal, and social virtue.

Born November ½, 1744,

Deceased 28 October, 1818,

Aged 74.

Married 25 October, 1764.

During an union of more than half a century

They survived, in harmony of sentiment, principle and affection.

The tempests of civil commotion:

Meeting undaunted and surmounting
The terrors and trials of that revolution,
Which secured the freedom of their country;
Improved the condition of their times;
And brightened the prospects of futurity
To the race of man upon earth.

PILGRIM,

From lives thus spent thy earthly duties learn; From fancy's dreams to active virtue turn: Let freedom, friendship, faith, thy soul engage, And serve, like them, thy country and thy age.





Painted by G. Stuur

Engraved by G.F.Stonn

A Adams





MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS.

Mrs. Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, second President of the United States, was one of three daughters of William Smith, minister of a Congregational church at Weymouth in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and of Elizabeth Quincy, a daughter of Colonel John Quincy, the proprietor of Mount Wollaston. This spot, situated on the sea-shore in the Bay of Boston, about seven miles south-east of that city, was the seat of a settlement by Thomas Wollaston and thirty of his associates in 1625, five years before that of the Massachusetts Colony. Wollaston abandoned his settlement the next year, and left part of his men under the command of Thomas Morton. The settlement itself was broken up by Governor Winthrop in the Summer of 1630, shortly after the landing of his Colony. Mount Wollaston was in 1634 made part of Boston, and the land was granted to William Coddington. He soon after sold it to William Ting, one of the principal merchants of Boston, and one of the four first representatives of the town in the General Court. Ting had four daughters, between whom, after his decease, his inheritance was divided. One of those daughters married Thomas Shepard, the celebrated minister of Charlestown; and in the distribution of the estates, the farm at Mount Wollaston was assigned to her. Her daughter, Anna, married Daniel Quincy, son of the second Edmund Quincy, and was the mother of Colonel John Quincy. Mrs. Anna Shepard survived her son-in-law, and at her decease bequeathed the estate at Mount Wollaston to his son John Quincy, then a student at Harvard College. In 1716 he married Elizabeth Norton, daughter of John Norton, minister of the first Congregational church at Hingham, a town distant about six miles south-east of Mount Wollaston. Elizabeth Quincy was the eldest daughter of this marriage, and in 1742 became the wife of William Smith.

Abigail Smith, second daughter of William and Elizabeth Smith, was born on the $\frac{1}{2}$ of November, the day dedicated in the Roman

calendar to Saint Cecilia, 1744. Her father, grandfather, and great grandfather, had all been educated at Harvard College. The Shepards and the Nortons are commemorated among the most learned and talented of the clergymen who held so conspicuous a place in the primitive settlement of New England. Thomas Shepard, the father of him who married Anna Ting, is known from the Magnalia of Cotton Mather as one of the shining lights of the Reformation. His son was scarcely less distinguished, but died in the prime of life. That they are yet held in affectionate remembrance, is in evidence from the very recent fact, that a church adhering to the primitive Puritan doctrines, at Cambridge, has assumed and bears their name. John Norton, the minister of Hingham, was a nephew of his namesake, illustrious in the history of the Massachusetts Colony, and was himself many years eminent among the pastoral teachers of his age and country. The maternal grandfather of Abigail Smith, John Quincy, had been graduated at Harvard College in 1708. Her father, William Smith, in 1725. From this line of ancestry, it may justly be inferred that the family associations of Abigail Smith were from her infancy among those whose habits, feelings, and tastes are marked by the love and cultivation of literature and learning. The only learned profession in the first century of the settlement of New England was that of the clergy. The law formed no distinct profession, and the lawyers were little esteemed. Science was scarcely better cultivated by the practitioners of the medical art; but religion was esteemed among the most important of worldly concerns, and the controversial spirit with which it was taught, and which was at once the cause and effect of the Protestant reformation, stimulated the thirst for learning, and sharpened the appetite for the studies by which it is acquired.

The importance of learning and of literature to the cause of religion, and the entire dependence of practical morals upon religious principle, were so well understood by the first founders of New England, that the settlers of the Massachusetts Colony had scarcely thrown up sheds and piled log-houses to shelter their bodies from the storm, before their thoughts turned to the erection of the edifice which should serve them and their children for the habitation of the mind. In 1634 they made an appropriation for a school at Newtown, and in 1638 John Harvard, himself one of the most distinguished of their ministers, bequeathed at his decease the sum of £779.17s.2d. for the establishment of a college for the education of ministers of the Gospel. The bequest was immediately carried into effect. In 1642 the first

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class was graduated—the town where the college was situated received the name of Cambridge from that in England, where all the religious teachers of the Colony had been educated; and the College of Harvard, made by the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts an university, bears the name of its founder in glory from age to age down to the extinction of time.

But in providing for the education of learned ministers of the Gospel, the Puritan fathers of New England were not equally solicitous to cultivate and adorn the minds of their daughters. The education of women was not neglected, but was generally confined to the concerns of the household. The women, indeed, mingled in the religious controversies of the first Colonial age, more perhaps than was conducive to their own happiness or to the tranquillity of their relatives; but the example and the fate of Mrs. Hutchinson and of her doctrines, appears to have operated rather as a warning than as an example to the women of the succeeding age. For the practice of the learned professions, women are by their sex as effectually unfitted as for fighting battles, holding the plough, felling the forest, or navigating the ocean.

The education of the daughters of Mr. Smith was in their father's house, with such advantages as a country clergyman in a village of New England, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, could afford. It was about that time that Goldsmith, in his Deserted Village, and in his Vicar of Wakefield, painted to the life that condition in human society, and that class of characters formed by it, of which Mr. Smith and his family might have served as the originals.

On the 25th of October, 1764, in the twentieth year of her age, Miss Abigail Smith was married to John Adams, then an attorney at law residing in Braintree, the town adjoining to Weymouth, and then rising to great eminence at the bar. He had until then devoted himself, with the most indefatigable industry, to the studies and the practice of his profession for about seven years, taking little part in the politics of the time. The subject of politics, in its most comprehensive sense, had, however, furnished a source of profound meditation to his mind for many years before that of his marriage. His letter of —— September, 1755, from Worcester to Nathan Webb, has been called a literary phenomenon. A shorter and far more carelessly written letter, in December 1761, is perhaps not less characteristic.

In November 1762, Miss Smith's elder sister, Mary, had been married to Richard Cranch, a native of Devonshire in England, who had

emigrated to this country in early youth, and was then settled at Germantown, part of the town of Braintree. In December 1761, Mr. Adams was upon a visit to Mr. Cranch at his house in Germantown; Mr. Cranch having an opportunity to enclose a letter which he had received the day before for Miss Mary Smith, put it under a cover thus addressed :-

"Miss Polly Smith, Weymouth.

" Germantown, Dec. 30th. 1761

" DEAR MISS POLLY,

"I was at Boston yesterday, and saw your brother, who was well. I have but a moment's notice of an opportunity of sending to you the enclosed, which I took at your uncle Edward's.

"I am, with compliments to your family, "Your affectionate humble servant,

"R. CRANCH."

Under which Mr. Adams wrote as follows:-

"DEAR DITTO,

"Here we are, Dick and Jack, as happy as the wickedness and folly of this world will allow philosophers. Our good wishes are poured forth for the felicity of you, your family, and neighbors. My-I don't know what—to Miss Nabby; tell her I hear she's about commencing a most loyal subject to young George, and although my allegiance has been hitherto inviolate, I shall endeavor all in my power to foment rebellion.

"J. Adams."

To account for the preservation of this cover of a letter, not by the lady to whom it was addressed, but by her younger sister, then the loyal subject of young George, it may be necessary to remember that she was then just turned of seventeen; that it was shortly after the accession of George the Third to the throne; and that nearly three years after, on the 25th of October, 1764, she married the instigator to rebellion.

The year 1765 is memorable in the history of the world, and especially in that of the United States and that of Great Britain, as the year in which the British Parliament enacted the Stamp Act. Until that time Mr. Adams had taken little part in political affairs: his whole soul had been absorbed in the study and practice of his pro-

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fession. But from the period of the Stamp Act he devoted himself to the cause of his country. In August of that year, in the midst of the violent fermentation occasioned by the resistance of the people to the execution of the Stamp Act, he published, in a Boston newspaper, the Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law, in which the right of popular resistance against oppression is laid down as distinctly as in the Declaration of Independence, and almost in the same terms The right and the determination of resistance was formed in the mind of John Adams from the first appearance of the Stamp Act, and his partner imbibed his principles, and prepared herself for all the trials and sacrifices which it was apparent must in such a contest be required of her. For ten years after their marriage Mr. Adams continued with increasing reputation in the practice of the law, residing alternately in the mansion descended to him from his father, and at Boston. In September, 1774, Mr. Adams was called to attend the meeting of the first Congress at Philadelphia. That session was short; but from the meeting of the second session in May, 1775, it was not again discontinued till the close of the war of the Revolution, and during the whole of that time she resided at Braintree, with a family of infant children, far from the partner of her heart, and exposed with her family, during a great part of the time, to continual dangers, scarcely less formidable than those which her husband, far distant from her, was on his part called to encounter.

The first deadly conflict of the war was in April 1775, at Lexing-The incident which gave occasion to it was the detachment of a body of troops from the British army at Boston, sent out to intercept John Hancock and Samuel Adams, then on their way to attend the meeting of this second Congress. John Adams was not with them, but had left his home for the same destination several days before. But his dwelling-house, his wife, and children, were within a shorter distance from Boston than Lexington or Concord; and the same spirit which had instigated the British commander to send a body of men to seize the persons of two members of the Continental Congress, might with a much smaller force have visited the dwellinghouse, and destroyed or made prisoners of the family of the third. For several months this danger was so imminent, that the library, and all the most valuable furniture of the house, were removed to a distant part of the town; nor were they restored till after the British army had, in April 1776, evacuated Boston.

Soon after the close of this trial, aggravated by an epidemic dysentery, with which, in the Autumn of 1775, Mrs. Adams herself and vol. IV.—3

every member of her family were severely afflicted, and to which her own mother, a brother of her husband, and a young woman living with her, in the course of two or three weeks fell victims, it was succeeded by another scarcely less distressing. After the removal of Congress from Philadelphia to Yorktown, in November, 1777, Mr. Adams made a short visit to his family, and, while absent, was appointed a joint Commissioner at the Court of France, with Dr. Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee, in the place of Silas Deane, who was recalled. In February, 1778, he sailed from Nantasket Roads in the Boston frigate, Captain Samuel Tucker; taking with him his eldest son, then a boy in the eleventh year of his age. It was the most perilous period of the war for a passage across the Atlantic. The Boston was an old brigantine converted into a small frigate of 28 guns, far inferior in force and weight of metal to the sloops of war of our present navy. While she was preparing for sea in the harbor of Boston, there was a British squadron anchored at no greater distance than Newport, Rhode Island, watching her departure; well informed of her destination, advised of the fact that a member of Congress was going out in her as a passenger, and eager in coveting possession both of the passenger and the ship. France had not then acknowledged the Independence of the United States, nor was it certain what reception the ship or Commissioner would find in that country. Mrs. Adams would for herself have been prepared to encounter every hazard with the partner of her life; but to expose her with three infant children, the whole family at once, was too much to undertake. She remained at Braintree, with three of the children.

In February, 1778, France acknowledged the Independence of the United States, and the treaties of commerce and of eventual alliance were concluded. Congress soon after determined to have, instead of three Commissioners at the Court of France, only one Minister Plenipotentiary, and the choice fell upon Dr. Franklin. Mr. Lee had another commission as Minister to Spain. Mr. Adams was left without being recalled, but without appointment to any other mission. He returned to the United States in August, 1779; but it had not been the intention of Congress to dispense with his further services in Europe. Soon after his return he received a commission to negotiate a peace with Great Britain; and in November, 1779, embarked again for France, taking with him his two elder sons, John Quincy and Charles—Mrs. Adams again remained with the two other children, a daughter and the youngest son, till after the conclusion of the peace. This was followed by a joint commission to Mr. Adams, with

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Dr Franklin and Mr. Jefferson, to negotiate treaties of commerce with any of the European or Barbary Powers; and to this succeeded the appointment of Mr. Adams as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain.

In May, 1784, Mrs. Adams embarked, with her only daughter, at Boston, to join her husband; she arrived at London in July. Mr. Adams was then at the Hague, in the discharge of the office of Minister Plenipotentiary to the United Netherlands, to which he had been appointed by Congress after the capture and imprisonment, in the tower of London, of Henry Laurens. About the same time of Mrs. Adams's arrival in England, Mr. Jefferson arrived in France, on the joint mission to negotiate commercial treaties, which negotiation was to be conducted at Paris. Mr. Adams, therefore, repaired to London to meet his family, and proceeded with them to Paris. They resided nearly a year at Auteuil, a village adjoining that of Passi, the residence of Doctor Franklin, until his final return to the United States, in 1785. He had, soon after the conclusion of the peace, requested of Congress permission to return, and to retire from the service of the Union. In the Spring of 1785 Mr. Jefferson was appointed his successor at the Court of France, and Mr. Adams was commissioned as Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain. He proceeded with his family to London. There he resided three years, and in the Summer of 1788, at his own request, received permission to return home. He arrived at Boston precisely at the time when, by the ratification of nine States, the Constitution of the United States was received as the Supreme law of the land.

During her absence in Europe, Mrs. Adams had resided one year in France and three years in England. She had made several excursions of several days, to visit some of the beautiful scenes and magnificent country-seats which abound in England; and before her return had, in company with her husband, visited the scarcely less magnificent scenery of the Netherlands. In her own country she had, from her childhood, been accustomed to view and to admire the scenery between her native village and Boston, scarcely surpassed for natural beauty by any object upon earth. In France, in England, in Holland, she had seen the highest attainments of art and the most unbounded profusion of wealth lavished to improve and adorn the simple beauties of nature. In the inspection and enjoyment of these beauties she had taken great delight; and in familiar letters to her friends in this country had given descriptions of them, exceed.

ingly interesting to her correspondents, and which, even at this day,

might be read with pleasure by the public.

Her letters to her husband and children, and to friends of her own sex, during the Revolutionary war, among which Mrs. Mercy Warren, sister of James Otis and wife of General James Warren of Plymouth, deserves to be particularly remembered, have an interest of a higher character. These ladies, familiar with the Roman history, and living in times when the exercise of the virtues of lofty patriotism were as necessary and as useful to the cause of liberty among the daughters of the land, as among their husbands and their brothers, corresponded with each other throughout the Revolutionary war-Mrs. Adams assuming the signature of Portio, and Mrs. Warren that of Marcia; and no correspondence of the Roman matrons bearing those names ever breathed a purer or more vivid spirit of patriotism. The letters of Mrs. Adams to her sons, while they were in Europe, were read and admired; and translations of more than one of them were made and published in some of the periodical journals of France.

The Government of the United States, under their present Constitution, was organized in April, 1789, and Mr. Adams was elected the first Vice President of the United States. He held that office during the eight years of President Washington's administration, and was elected his immediate successor. The sessions of the first Congress were held at the city of New York. In 1790 the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia, and continued there till December, 1800, when it was transferred to Washington, in the District of Columbia. During the sessions of Congress Mr. Adams usually resided with his family at New York, and afterwards at Philadelphia; and in the intervals between them, on his estate at Quincy, about eight miles distant from Boston. Mrs. Adams's health, as she advanced in years, became frequently infirm; but, with the exception of one or two sessions, when she was detained at home by indisposition, she resided with her husband at the seat of government.

In the administration of the first President of the United States two parties immediately disclosed themselves. They were at first merely the successors of those between which the struggle had been maintained for and against the establishment of the Constitution of the United States. The contest between persons and property, between the many and the few, inherent in the vitals of human society, was always fermenting in the community. These elements of contention, always acting and reacting upon the course of human

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events, and always modified by them, gave rise to two systems of administration, the leading minds of which were Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Washington endeavored to hold the balance between them; and Mr. Adams, in his station of Vice-President, gave his cordial and effective support to the general measures of his administration. The French Revolution breaking forth in the same year when the Constitution of the United States went into operation, and involving in its progress all the elements of contention incident to human society, produced a conflict of principles which not even the moderation, the spotless integrity, and the enduring fortitude of Washington himself could assuage. Jefferson and Hamilton both successively retired from the administration, but neither of them to quiet retirement. The spirit of party turned with a virulence, incredible at this day, against Washington himself; and upon his retirement, Mr. Adams was, by a bare majority of the electoral votes over Mr. Jefferson, chosen the successor to the Presidency, Mr. Jefferson himself being by the same election seated in the chair of the Vice-Presidency.

The party struggle continued during the administration of Mr. Adams; and the defection of Hamilton, with other leaders of the Federal party, turned the scale of the election of 1800. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were returned with an equal number and a majority of votes in the electoral colleges, and after a severe contest between them in the House of Representatives, Mr. Jefferson was elected President of the United States. Mr. Adams retired to private life, and spent the last twenty-five years of his life at his residence

in Quincy, where, on the 4th of July 1826, he died.

Mr. Jefferson, in his Inaugural Address, alluded to the political intolerance which had marked the party conflicts of the preceding administrations, and urged his countrymen to restore harmony and affection to social intercourse. Of that intolerance, and of the bitter and rancorous imputations which are its most effective weapons, no man who had devoted his life to the service of his country ever endured more than Mr. Adams. From the day when he took his seat as President of the Senate, until that when his administration expired, he was assailed with unappeasable virulence; nor did it even cease with his retirement to private life. The exemplary deportment of Mrs. Adams towards persons of all parties during the twelve years of her husband's connexion with the government of the United States, disarmed even the demon of party spirit. She enjoyed universal esteem, as well for the endowments of her mind, as for the correctness of her deportment; and the only form in which personal male.

volence or party malignity could assume to turn her virtues into weapons of annoyance to her husband, was that of occasional insinuations that she exercised over him an uncontrolable influence, extended even to measures of public concernment; a slander not less unjust than all the others with which Mr. Adams was incessional interval.

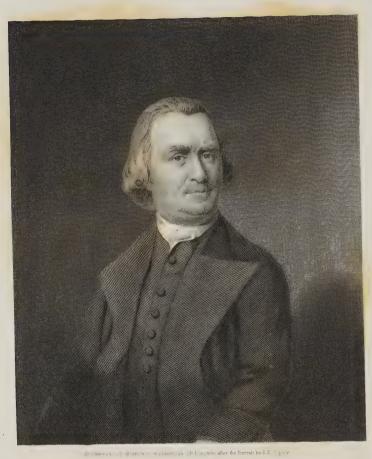
santly pursued.

During the remainder of her life Mrs. Adams shared the retirement of her husband, in the exercise of all the virtues that adorn and dignify the female, and the Christian character. As the mistress of a household, she united the prudence of a rigid economy with the generous spirit of a liberal hospitality; faithful and affectionate in her friendships, bountiful to the indigent, kind and courteous to her dependents, cheerful, good-humoured and charitable in the intercourse of social life with her neighbors and acquaintance. She lived in the habitual practice of benevolence, and of sincere, unaffected piety. In the year 1813 she was called to endure one of the severest afflictions that can befall the lot of humanity, the death of her only daughter, wife of Colonel William Stephens Smith of New York, after a long, lingering, and painful disease. She had before, at earlier periods of her life, lost one infant daughter and one son, Charles Adams, in the prime of life and the thirtieth year of his age.

Mrs. Adams herself died of a typhus fever on the 28th of October, 1818, at the age of seventy-four; leaving to the women of her country an example which, could it be universally followed, would restore to

mankind the state of paradise before the fall.





Sam Adams





SAMUEL ADAMS.

Samuel Adams was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in September, 1722. His ancestors were amongst the early settlers of New England. The family has already been traced through its various branches, in the biographical sketch of President John Adams in this volume, and requires no further notice in this place. Samuel Adams was remarkable for steady application to his studies at the celebrated Latin school of Master Lovell. He entered Harvard university at an early age, and graduated in 1740, when he discussed the following question, "Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." He maintained the affirmative in the presence of the king's governor and council; and thus evinced, at that early period, his attachment to the liberties of the people. About the same time he published a pamphlet, called "Englishmen's Rights," the expense of which he paid out of the small stipend allowed him by his father while he was a student.

It has been stated that he intended to have devoted himself to the gospel ministry, but that his father designed him for the bar; the intentions of both were overruled by his mother, and the course of life adopted was that of commerce, to which he was neither inclined nor fitted; and although he was placed under the charge of an eminent merchant, Mr. Thomas Cushing, he acquired little knowledge of business, nor was he able to support himself when he commenced business on his own account. The capital given to him by his father, by imprudent credits and other losses was soon consumed. His father died soon after, and as he was the eldest son, the care of the family and the management of the estate devolved upon him.

It may be seen that Mr. Adams took an interest in political subjects at an early period of life, both from the choice of his subject when he took his degree at Cambridge, and of his first pamphlet. Similar subjects occupied his attention afterwards. While yet a clerk to Mr

Cushing, he formed a club, each member of which agreed to furnish a political essay for a newspaper called the Independent Advertiser. These essays brought the writers into notice, and they were dubbed, in derision, the "Whipping-post Club." During the administration of Governor Shirley, he was known as a political writer in opposition to the dangerous union of too much civil and military power in the hands of one man. His ingenuity, wit, and clear and cogent arguments, gained public confidence, and laid the foundation for that influence over his fellow-citizens, which made him afterwards a mark for the especial dislike of the royalists.

In 1763 the agent of Massachusetts in London transmitted intelligence that it was contemplated, by the ministry, to tax the colonies. This soon produced a great excitement. It was expected that Governor Bernard would immediately call the Massachusetts house of assembly together, and that such instructions would be sent to the agent as might have a tendency to prevent the contemplated proceedings; but to the surprise of the public, the governor took no notice of the subject.

In May, 1764, a new election was held of members of the assembly, and according to custom, written instructions were prepared by the people for their representatives. Mr. Adams was one of the five who were selected by the people of Boston on this occasion. The instructions were written by him, and were approved by the town. The document was published at the time in the Boston Gazette, and is said to be the first public document that denied the "supremacy of the British parliament, and their right to tax the colonies without their own consent."

It is well known that at this time a private club was formed in Boston for the purpose of deciding on the most proper measures to be taken at this important crisis. It was composed of the leading patriots of the day. It was the secret spring which set in motion the public body. Mr. Adams was one of that patriotic conclave, and went with all his heart into the measures determined on, to resist every infringement of the rights of the colonies. The Stamp Act was a flagrant violation of them; and to suffer it to be quitely carried into effect, would establish a precedent and encourage further proceedings. Mr. Adams was not averse to the manner in which the people evinced their determined opposition by destroying the stamp papers and office in Boston; but he highly disapproved the riots and disorders which followed, and personally aided the civil power in the suppression of them.

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He was elected a member of the general assembly of Massachusetts in 1765, in the place of Oxenbridge Thatcher, deceased. He was soon after chosen clerk to the House, and acquired influence in the Legislature, in which he continued nearly ten years. He was frequently upon important committees, and was the soul that animated their most decisive resolutions. In 1767 he suggested a plan to counteract the operation of the act imposing duties. It was agreed to by the merchants, and nearly all of them in the province bound themselves, if the duties were not repealed, not to import any but certain enumerated articles after the 1st of January, 1769.

He was chairman of the committee appointed by the people of Boston to wait upon Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, and urge the withdrawal of the British troops from the town, after the fatal affray of the 5th of March, 1770. Mr. Adams, in a speech of some length, pressed the subject with great ability, and enumerated the fatal consequences which would ensue if the vote of the town was not immediately complied with. Hutchinson prevaricated, and denied that the troops were subject to his authority; but promised to direct the removal of the 29th regiment. Mr. Adams again rose. Filled with the magnitude of the subject, and irritated by the manner in which it had been treated by the Lieutenant-governor, he replied with indignation and boldness, "That it was well known that, acting as governor of the province, he was by its charter commander-in-chief of his Majesty's military and naval forces, and, as such, the troops were subject to his orders; and if he had the power to remove one regiment, he had the power to remove both; and nothing short of that would satisfy the people; and it was at his peril if the vote of the town was not immediately complied with; and if it be longer delayed, he alone must be answerable for the fatal consequences that would ensue." This produced a momentary silence. It was now dark, and the people were waiting for the report of their committee. After a short conference with Colonel Dalrymple, Hutchinson gave his consent to the removal of both regiments, which was accordingly effected the following day.

As early as 1766 Mr. Adams had been impressed with the importance of establishing committees of correspondence throughout the colonies; but the plan was not carried into operation until 1772, when it was first adopted by Massachusetts on his motion, at a public town meeting in Boston, and was soon after followed by all the provinces.

Every method had been tried to induce Mr. Adams to abandon the cause of his country, which he had supported with so much zeal, courage, and ability. Threats and caresses had proved equally un-

availing. Prior to this time there is no certain proof that any direct attempt was made upon his virtue and integrity, although a report had been publicly and freely circulated that it had been unsuccessfully tried by Governor Bernard. Hutchinson knew him too well to make the attempt. But Governor Gage was empowered to try the experiment. He sent to him a confidential and verbal message by Colonel Fenton, who waited upon Mr. Adams, and after the customary salutations, he stated the object of his visit. He said, that an adjustment of the disputes which existed between England and the colonies, and a reconciliation, was very desirable as well as important to the interest of both. That he was authorized from Governor Gage to assure him, that he had been empowered to confer upon him such benefits as would be satisfactory, upon the condition that he would engage to cease in his opposition to the measures of government. He also observed, that it was the advice of Governor Gage to him, not to incur the further displeasure of his Majesty; that his conduct had been such as made him liable to the penalties of an act of Henry VIII. by which persons could be sent to England for trial of treason or misprision of treason, at the discretion of a governor of a province; but by changing his political course, he would not only receive great personal advantages, but would thereby make his peace with the king. Mr. Adams listened with apparent interest to this recital. He asked Colonel Fenton if he would truly deliver his reply as it should be given. After some hesitation, he assented. Mr. Adams required his word of honor, which he pledged.

Then rising from his chair, and assuming a determined manner, he replied, "I trust I have long since made MY PEACE WITH THE KING OF KINGS. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country. Tell Governor Gage, IT IS THE ADVICE OF SAMUEL ADAMS TO HIM NO longer to insult the feelings of

an exasperated people."

With a full sense of his own perilous situation, marked as an object of ministerial vengeance, laboring under pecuniary embarrassment, but fearless of personal consequences, he steadily pursued the great object of his soul,—the liberty of the people.

The time required bold and inflexible measures. Common distress required common counsel. The aspect was appalling to some of the most decided patriots of the day. The severity of punishment, which was inflicted on the people of Boston by the power of England, produced a melancholy sadness on the friends of American freedom. The Massachusetts house of assembly was then in session at Salem

SAMUEL ADAMS.

A committee of that body was chosen to consider and report the state of the province. Mr. Adams, it is said, observed that some of the committee were for mild measures, which he judged no way suited to the present emergency. He conferred with Mr. Warren of Plymouth upon the necessity of sprited measures, and then said, " Do you keep the committee in play, and I will go and make a caucus by the time the evening arrives, and do you meet me." Mr. Adams secured a meeting of about five principal members of the house at the time specified, and repeated his endeavors for the second and third nights, when the number amounted to more than thirty. The friends of the administration knew nothing of the matter. The popular leaders took the sense of the members in a private way, and found that they would be able to carry their scheme by a sufficient majority. They had their whole plan completed, prepared their resolutions, and then determined to bring the business forward; but before they commenced, the doorkeeper was ordered to let no person in, nor suffer any one to depart. The subjects for discussion were then introduced by Mr. Adams with his usual eloquence on such great occasions. He was chairman of the committee, and reported the resolutions for the appointment of delegates to a general congress to be convened at Philadelphia, to consult on the general safety of America. This report was received with surprise and astonishment by the administration party. Such was the apprehension of some, that they were apparently desirous to desert the question. The door-keeper seemed uneasy at his charge, and wavering with regard to the performance of the duty assigned to him. this critical juncture, Mr. Adams relieved him by taking the key and keeping it himself. The resolutions were passed; five delegates, consisting of Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, Robert Treat Paine, John Adams, and James Bowdoin, were appointed, the expense was estimated, and funds were voted for the payment. Before the business was finally closed, a member made a plea of indisposition, and was allowed to leave the house. This person went directly to the Governor, and informed him of their high-handed proceedings. The Governor immediately sent his secretary to dissolve the assembly, who found the door locked. He demanded entrance; but was answered, that his desire could not be complied with until some important business, then before the house, was concluded. Finding every method to gain admission ineffectual, he read the order on the stairs for an immediate dissolution of the assembly. The order, however, was disregarded by They continued their deliberations, passed all their intended measures, and then obeyed the mandate for dissolution.

After many unavailing efforts, both by threats and promises, to al lure this inflexible patriot from his devotion to the sacred cause of independence, Governor Gage at length, on the 12th of June, 1775, issued that memorable proclamation, of which the following is an extract:—"In this exigency of complicated calamities, I avail myself of the last efforts within the bounds of my duty to spare the further effusion of blood, to offer, and I do hereby in his Majesty's name offer and promise, his most gracious pardon to all persons who shall forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon, Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." This was a diploma, conferring greater honors on the individuals than any other which was within the power of his Britannic majesty to bestow.

In a letter, dated April, 1776, at Philadelphia, while he was in congress, to Major Hawley of Massachusetts, he said, "I am perfectly satisfied of the necessity of a public and explicit declaration of independence. I cannot conceive what good reason can be assigned against it. Will it widen the breach? This would be a strange question after we have raised armies and fought battles with the British troops; set up an American navy, permitted the inhabitants of these colonies to fit out armed vessels to capture the ships, &c. belonging to any of the inhabitants of Great Britain; declaring them the enemies of the United Colonies, and torn into shivers their acts of trade, by allowing commerce, subject to regulations to be made by ourselves, with the people of all countries, except such as are subject to the British king. It cannot, surely, after all this, be imagined that we consider ourselves, or mean to be considered by others, in any other state than that of independence."

In another letter to James Warren, Esq. dated Baltimore, December 31, 1776, he said, "I assure you business has been done since we came to this place, more to my satisfaction than any or every thing done before, excepting the 'Declaration of Independence,' which should have been made immediately after the 19th of April, 1775."

Notwithstanding we had raised armies, built navies, fought battles, and had seen the public grievances still unredressed, yet the minds of many of the leading Whigs were not prepared for the great question of a final separation of the two countries till July 4, 1776.

The character of Mr. Adams had become celebrated in foreign countries. In 1773 he had been chosen a member of the society of

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the bill of rights in London; and in 1774 John Adams and Doctor Joseph Warren were elected on his nomination.

Our patriots, in their progress to independence, had successfully encountered many formidable obstacles; but in the year 1777 still greater difficulties arose, at the prospect of which some of the stoutest hearts began to falter. It was at this critical juncture, after Congress had resolved to adjourn from Philadelphia to Lancaster, that some of the leading members accidentally met in company with each other. A conversation in mutual confidence ensued. Mr. Adams, who was one of the number, was cheerful and undismayed at the aspect of affairs; while the countenances of his friends were strongly marked with the desponding feelings of their hearts. The conversation naturally turned upon the subject which most engaged their feelings. Each took occasion to express his opinions on the situation of the public cause, and all were gloomy and sad. Mr. Adams listened in silence till they had finished. He then said, "Gentlemen, your spirits appear to be heavily oppressed with our public calamities. I hope you do not despair of our final success?" It was answered, "That the chance was desperate." Mr. Adams replied, "If this be our language, it is so, indeed. If we wear long faces, they will become fashionable. The people take their tone from ours; and if we despair, can it be expected that they will continue their efforts in what we conceive to be a hopeless cause? Let us banish such feelings, and show a spirit that will keep alive the confidence of the people rather than damp their courage. Better tidings will soon arrive. Our cause is just and righteous, and we shall never be abandoned by Heaven while we show ourselves worthy of its aid and protection."

At this time there were but twenty-eight of the members of Congress present at Philadelphia. Mr. Adams said, "That this was the

smallest, but the truest Congress they ever had."

But a few days had elapsed when the news arrived of the glorious success at Saratoga, which gave a new complexion to our affairs and

confidence to our hopes.

Soon after this, Lord Howe, the Earl of Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, arrived as commissioners to treat for peace under Lord North's conciliatory proposition. Mr. Adams was one of the committee chosen by Congress to draught an answer to their letter. In this it is stated, "That Congress will readily attend to such terms of peace as may consist with the honor of an independent nation."

At this time the enemies of our freedom were busily employed to create disunion among its friends. Reports were circulated of attempts

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to deprive General Washington of his command, in which, it was said, Mr. Adams was a principal leader. This was not true. It is possible that some warm expressions may have fallen from him when he spoke of the multiplied disasters which attended our military operations, and of the effects they produced on the public mind; and for political purposes, our opponents gave to them, probably, a different and distorted sense.

In a letter to his friend, Richard Henry Lee, Esq. dated in 1789, in speaking of executive appointments as provided for in the constitution of the United States, he thus notices the subject: "I need not tell you, who have known so thoroughly the sentiments of my heart, that I have always had a very high esteem for the late commander-in-chief of our armies; and I now most sincerely believe, that while President Washington continues in the chair, he will be able to give, to all good men, a satisfactory reason for every instance of his public conduct. I feel myself constrained, contrary to my usual manner, to make professions of sincerity on this occasion; because Doctor Gordon, in his History of the Revolution, has gravely said that I was concerned in an attempt to remove General Washington from command; and mentions an anonymous letter to your late Governor Henry, which I affirm I never saw, nor heard of, till I lately met with it in reading the history."

In 1779 Samuel Adams was placed by the state convention on a committee to prepare and report a form of government for Massachusetts. By this committee he and John Adams were appointed a subcommittee to furnish a draught of the constitution. The draught produced by them was reported to the convention, and, after some amendments, accepted. The address of the convention to the people was jointly written by them.

In 1781 he was elected a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, and was shortly afterwards elevated to the presidency of that body.

In 1787 he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts convention for the ratification of the constitution of the United States. He had some objections to it in its reported form; the principal of which was to that article which rendered the several States amenable to the Courts of the nation. He thought that this would reduce them to mere corporations. There was a very powerful opposition to it, and some of its most zealous friends and supporters were fearful that it would not be accepted.

Mr. Adams had not then given his sentiments upon it in the convention; but regularly attended the debates.

Some of the leading advocates waited upon Mr. Adams and Mr.

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Hancock, to ascertain their opinions and wishes, in a private manner. Mr. Adams stated his objections, and said that he should not give it his support unless certain amendments were recommended to be adopted. These he enumerated. Mr. Hancock was president of the convention, and at that time confined to his house by indisposition. His opinion coincided with that of Mr. Adams; and he observed, that he would attend and give it his support upon the same condition expressed by Mr. Adams. This was mutually agreed to. Mr. Adams prepared his amendments, which were brought before the convention, and referred to a committee, who made some inconsiderable alterations, with which the constitution was accepted. Some of these were afterwards agreed to as amendments, and form, at present, a part of that instrument.

In 1789 he was elected Lieutenant-governor of the State of Massachusetts, and continued to fill that office till 1794, when he was chosen governor of that state. He was annually re-elected till 1797, when, oppressed with years and bodily infirmities, he declined being again a candidate, and retired to private life.

After many years of incessant exertions, employed in the establishment of the independence of America, he died on the 3d October, 1803, in the eighty-second year of his age, in indigent circumstances.

The person of Samuel Adams was of middle size. His countenance was a true index of his mind, and possessed those lofty and elevated characteristics which are always found to accompany true greatness.

He was a steady professor of the Christian religion, and uniformly attended public worship. His family devotions were regularly performed, and his morality was never impeached.

In his manners and deportment he was sincere and unaffected; in conversation, pleasing and instructive; and in his friendships, steadfast and affectionate.

His revolutionary labors were not surpassed by those of any individual. From the commencement of the dispute with Great Britain he was incessantly employed in public service; opposing, at one time, the doctrine of the supremacy of "parliament in all cases," taking the lead in questions of controverted policy with the royal governors, writing state papers from 1765 to 1774;—in planning and organizing clubs and committees, haranguing in town meetings, or filling the columns of public prints with essays adapted to the spirit and temper of the times. In addition to these occupations, he maintained an extensive and laborious correspondence with the friends of American freedom in Great Britain and in the provinces.

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No man was more intrepid and dauntless when encompassed by dangers, or more calm and unmoved amid public disasters and adverse fortune. His bold and daring conduct and language subjected him to great personal hazards. Had any fatal event occurred to our country, by which she had fallen in her struggle for liberty, Samuel Adams would have been the first victim of ministerial vengeance. His blood would have been first shed as a sacrifice on the altar of tyranny, for the noble magnanimity and independence with which he defended the cause of freedom. But such was his firmness, that he probably would have met death with as much composure as he regarded it with unconcern.

His writings were numerous, and much distinguished for their elegance and fervor; but, unfortunately, the greater part of them have been lost, or so distributed as to render their collection impossible.

He was the author of a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough;—of many political essays directed against the administration of Governor Shirley;—of a letter in answer to Thomas Paine in defence of Christianity, and of an oration published in the year 1776.

Four letters of his correspondence on government are extant, and

were published in a pamphlet form in 1800.

MR. Adams's eloquence was of a peculiar character. His language was pure, concise, and impressive. He was more logical than figurative. His arguments were addressed rather to the understanding than to the feelings; yet he always engaged the deepest attention of his audience. On ordinary occasions there was nothing remarkable in his speeches; but on great questions, when his own feelings were interested, he would combine every thing great in oratory. In the language of an elegant writer, the great qualities of his mind were fully displayed in proportion as the field for their exertion was extended; and the energy of his language was not inferior to the depth of his mind. It was an eloquence admirably adapted to the age in which he flourished, and exactly calculated to attain the object of his pursuit. It may well be described in the language of the poet, "thoughts which breathe, and words which burn." An eloquence, not consisting of theatrical gesture or the pomp of words; but that which was a true picture of a heart glowing with the sublime enthusiasm and ardor of patriotism; an eloquence, to which his fellow-citizens listened with applause and rapture; and little inferior to the best models of antiquity, for simplicity majesty, and persuasion. 10





Painted by Col. John Trumbull

Engraved by E. Mackenzie

JOMATHAN TORTHALL.

Jon; brumbull





Joseph Trumbull, the ancestor of the Trumbull family, came, as is understood, from Cumberland County, England, to Ipswich, in Massachusetts, in the year 1640. His son, John, removed to Suffield, Hartford County, Connecticut, which was then within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. He had three sons, John, Joseph, and Benoni. Their descendants have been distinguished in the civil, political, and literary history of the State. John Trumbull, the celebrated author of McFingal and other poems, was the son of John, who was a distinguished clergyman at Waterbury. The Reverend Benjamin Trumbull, D. D., the historian, was the son of Benoni, who was a clergyman at Hebron. Jonathan Trumbull was the son of Joseph, who settled at Lebanon as a merchant, where the subject of this memoir was born, on the 10th of June, (O. S.) 1710.

He entered Harvard College in 1724, and graduated with honor in 1727. He immediately commenced the study of Theology with the Rev. Solomon Williams of Lebanon. In due time he was licensed to preach, and soon after was invited to settle in the ministry at Colchester, in his native State. While deliberating upon the subject, a family affliction turned the current of his life into another channel. An elder brother, who was engaged in business with his father, had sailed on a voyage to London, in June 1732, and was never more heard of. For a long time a forlorn hope was entertained that the vessel had been captured by the Algerines; but, distressing as even that hope was, time proved it to be fallacious. The loss of this son, with the vessel and cargo, which wholly belonged to them, was severely felt by the aged father, who found himself unfitted to settle up his mercantile concerns without the assistance of his surviving son, who, at the urgent request of his father, with great reluctance declined the call of the church at Colchester.

In closing up the affairs of his brother, Jonathan Trumbull

gradually commenced business for himself, and was, for many years, a merchant in his native town. He imported his goods direct from London, and by his fair and upright dealing secured the respect and confidence of the public.

At the age of twenty-three he was elected a member of the General Assembly of the Colony. Here a new scene opened before him. His talents for public business were soon perceived and acknowledged, and he rose rapidly in the estimation of the freemen of the Colony. He was soon chosen speaker of the House, and shortly afterward a member of the Council. In 1766 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony, and, by virtue of that office, Chief Judge of the Superior Court. He continued in that office until 1768. Pitkin, the Governor of the Colony, being advanced in life, was cautious in his proceedings upon the absorbing subjects which then agitated the public mind. The right claimed by the British Parliament of taxing the Colonies at their pleasure, and the passage of the Stamp Act, caused great excitement. Governor Pitkin, and several of the council, took the oath enjoined by the British Government on that occasion; but the Lieutenant-Governor absolutely refused to take it himself, or to be present when it was administered to others.

In resistance to the arbitrary acts of Parliament, no person in the Colony was more active, ardent, or energetic, than Lieutenant-Governor Trumbull.

In 1769 he was chosen by the people Governor of the Colony, as one on whom, in times of danger and trouble, they could safely rely; and he fulfilled their expectations to the end of his career. He decided in council, by his casting vote, to resist, by force of arms, the encroachments of Great Britain against the liberties of the Colony. This was an act of fearful responsibility, considering the power of the nation to be resisted and the means of defence; and it may here be remarked, that he was the only Colonial Governor, at the commencement of the Revolution, who espoused the cause of the people. During the whole controversy he remained steadfast in the cause; and he was the only Governor of a State who held his station through the war. He was not only considered the leader of the Whigs in his own State, but throughout New England. His firmness in danger; his persevering spirit in the most gloomy period; his ardor, patriotism, and zeal in his country's cause; endeared him to all lovers of their country. As a politician, his views were clear, correct, and open; and the soundness and sagacity of his opinions and judgment were proved by the happy results which followed his undeviating

course. As he never paused in the performance of his duty, so he never despaired of the triumph of his countrymen.

The immense business he transacted, and the manner in which it was done, proved his diligence, ability, and fidelity. During the whole war of the Revolution a council of safety sat with him, except during the sessions of the General Assembly: at all other times he and his council were the Executive of the State. In addition to his duties as Governor, and his attendance with the Legislature, (at least three times a year,) he sat in council during the war more than one thousand days. His correspondence with the Governors of the other States, and with the Commander-in-chief and other officers of the army, was very extensive. He promptly complied with the requisitions of General Washington for supplies, to the extent of his ability, or the power of the State: and it is a fact not generally known, that Connecticut furnished the United States with more troops and supplies than any other State in the Union, except Massachusetts. In addition to the contributions of Connecticut to the forces of the Union, her own sons defended their soil themselves. It is believed the United States never furnished a regiment for her protection, or to repel an invading enemy, and yet the enemy never rested a single night in the State undisturbed.

The foreign correspondence of Governor Trumbull was not only extensive, but of great importance to the country, and should be published; as we are confident, from what we have seen of it, that it would not only be highly interesting, but that it would reflect a light upon the history of the time, untinged by personal or partizan prejudices, and confirm the claims of the venerable Governor to a place in the first rank of American patriots. A few extracts from his domestic and foreign correspondence will illustrate its character.

Letter from Governor TRUMBULL to Governor Gage.

"Hartford, April 28th, 1775.

"SIR.

"The alarming situation of public affairs in this country, and the late unfortunate transactions in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, have induced the General Assembly of this Colony, now sitting in this place, to appoint a committee of their body to wait upon your Excellency, and to desire me, in their name, to write to you relative to these very interesting matters.

"The inhabitants of this Colony are intimately connected with the people of your province, and esteem themselves bound, by the strongest ties of friendship as well as of common interest, to regard with attention whatever concerns them. You will not therefore be surprised that your first arrival at Boston with a body of his Majesty's troops, for the declared purpose of carrying into execution certain acts of Parliament, which in their apprehension were unconstitutional and oppressive, should have given the good people of this Colony a very just and general alarm. Your subsequent proceedings, in fortifying the town of Boston, and

other military preparations, greatly increased their apprehensions for the safety of their friends and brethren; they could not be unconcerned spectators of their sufferings, in that which is esteemed the common cause of this country: but the late hostile and secret inroads of some of the troops under your command into the heart of the country, and the violences they have committed, have driven them almost into a state of desperation. They feel now, not only for their friends, but for themselves, and for their dearest interests and connexions. We wish not to exaggerate, we are not sure of every part of our information; but by the best intelligence that we have yet been able to obtain, the late transaction was a most unprovoked attack upon the lives and property of his Majesty's subjects, and it is represented to us that such outrages have been committed as would disgrace even barbarians, and much more Britons, so highly famed for humanity as well as bravery. It is feared, therefore, that we are devoted to destruction, and that you have it in command and intention to ravage and desolate the country. If this is not the case, permit us to ask, why have these outrages been committed? Why is the town of Boston now shut up? To what end are all the hostile preparations that are daily making? And why do we continually hear of fresh destinations of troops for this country? The people of the Colony, you may rely upon it, abhor the idea of taking arms against the troops of their sovereign, and dread nothing so much as the horrors of civil war. But, at the same time, we beg leave to assure your Excellency, that as they apprehend themselves justified by the principle of self-defence, so they are most firmly resolved to defend their rights and privileges to the last extremity; nor will they be restrained from giving aid to their brethren if any unjustifiable attack is made upon them. Be so good, therefore, as to explain yourself upon this most important subject, as far as is consistent with your duty to our common sovereign. Is there no way to prevent this unhappy dispute from coming to extremities? Is there no alternative but absolute submission, or the desolations of war? By that humanity which constitutes so amiable a part of your character, for the honor of our sovereign, and by the glory of the British empire, we entreat you to prevent it, if it be possible. Surely it is to be hoped that the temperate wisdom of the empire might even yet find expedients to restore peace, that so all parts of the empire may enjoy their particular rights, honors, and immunities. Certainly this is an event most devoutly to be wished for. And will it not be consistent with your duty to suspend the operations of war on your part, and enable us on ours to quiet the minds of the people, at least till the result of some further deliberations may be known? The importance of the occasion will, we doubt not, sufficiently apologize for the earnestness with which we address you, and any seeming impropriety which may attend it, as well as induce you to give us the most explicit, and favorable answer in your power.

"I am, with great esteem and respect,
"in behalf of the General Assembly,
"Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,
"Jonathan Trumbull."

Letter from Governor TRUMBULL to the Baron Van De Capellan of Holland.

" Lebanon, 27th June, 1777.

"The cause of Liberty is not peculiar to one free State—it is a common cause; the destruction of one cannot be indifferent to the few other free States, which God, in his Providence, hath preserved from being swallowed up by tyranny. It was with the greatest pleasure we were informed that the States of Holland refused to lend their troops to Great Britain, to be used in extending the dominion of tyranny over these States, and effacing almost the only traces of liberty which remain in one quarter of the globe; I cannot sufficiently express the gratitude we feel for the generous part, you, Sir, was pleased to take in that matter, worthy of a senator of a free State, and a candid and impartial friend of liberty and humanity.

"In the United States of America you will be revered. We are now reduced to the ne-

cessity of defending, by force, against the power of a renowned and mighty empire, our ancient and indubitable rights, immunities, and privileges, founded upon national liberty, confirmed by Royal charters, of the predecessors of the (present) King of Great Britain; approved and recognized by successive Parliaments; and enjoyed, from the first settlement of these States, to the present day. The present reign opened with a deliberate system and digested plan to reduce these States to the most abject dependence and vassalage. By our ancient charters, by the most solemn contracts with our kings, we were to have, and enjoy, all the liberties, privileges, and immunities of free and natural born subjects of the realm of England; of these privileges, that which fixes private property, and exempts the subject from taxation but by his own consent, has been always justly reputed the chief, the loss of which involves in it, or draws after it, the loss of all the rest; this was first attacked."

After giving a statement of the rise, origin, and cause of the contest between the Colonies and the Mother country, their petitions and causes of complaints, &c. (which, from its length, cannot be inserted in this article,) he says:

"To many, the views of the British cabinet had been long apparent; most people, however, had flattered themselves the nation would not suffer the Court to take away their privileges by force; and that at length they would be confirmed; but now, it is become evident to all, that the design to strip them of their privileges, and lay their lives and property at the mercy of a haughty and unfeeling ministry and a venal Parliament, was fixed and determined; and that no step tending to that end would be deemed inexpedient or unjust, if practicable. On the 19th day of April, 1775, the scene of blood was opened by the British troops, by the unprovoked slaughter of the Provincial troops at Lexington and Concord. The adjacent Colonies took up arms in their own defence; the Congress again met, again petitioned the Throne for peace and settlement; and again their petitions were contemptuously disregarded. When every glimpse of hope failed, not only of justice but of safety, we were compelled, by the last necessity, to appeal to Heaven, and rest the defence of our liberties and privileges upon the favor and protection of Divine Providence; and the resistance we could make by opposing force to force. Although the war was begun on our part, under the greatest disadvantages, without any preparation of arms, artillery, military stores, magazines of provisions, or other necessaries, which proves to demonstration that the war did not proceed from any ambitious, premeditated plan on our part; yet Heaven has so smiled upon us hitherto, that we have been able to maintain ourselves and make head against our enemies. And, although all Europe has resounded with ostentatious accounts of their victories and success, it is nevertheless true that they have not yet been able to maintain themselves in any post where they were not protected by their navy; or where, if attacked, they could not immediately retire on board their transports. And we have yet good hopes and a fair prospect, with the smiles of Heaven, of making a good defence, and vindicating our liberty against the unjust attempts of power to deprive us of it. From our brethren in Great Britain we have not experienced their boasted candor, impartiality, and clemency. We appeal from their injustice to the Supreme Governor and Judge, and to the candid censure of the impartial world. In you, Sir, and in your wise and generous sentiments, we find that justice, the sincerity of our intention and rectitude of our measures entitle us to hope for. We may justly flatter ourselves that no free State will so far forget what is due to their own glory and interest, as to lend their aid to exterminate liberty, (even) from the wilds of America; might they not rather be expected to assist in preserving what liberty yet remains upon earth from falling a sacrifice to the encroachments and avidity of Tyrants-lest Liberty itself should be banished or forced from amongst men, and universal tyranny, with its attendant calamities and miseries, overwhelm the whole human race? But

I desist; it is not my intention to send you a history. I would only thank you for your favorable sentiments of us, and request a continuance of your good offices as far as we shall appear to you to deserve them."

The Baron's answer was received, dated Zwoll, 7th Dec. 1779, written in Dutch—some few extracts are here inserted:—

"To be the object of public esteem of a people, worthy and virtuous as the brave Americans, is a thing so great, that all the credit of your name, (as also of Mr. Erkelaus,) could not persuade me that I have merited the smallest part of the gratitude which you please to testify (on their part) for the small services I have tried to render them.

"It is true, Sir, I have engaged, since the year 1775, in the good cause of your compatriots, with that zeal as the love of liberty inspired me, for such as dare to defend it, against the horrors of all sorts of oppression; but after all, what I have done, is nothing but an act of pure justice. By my birth I am a member of the nobles of my Province, and am called in the Assembly of the States, not States General, (as is believed in your country,) but of the Province of Overysell. I should have thought myself responsible for the innocent blood which has been shed in your country, if I had permitted such things without - One other cause of the mistrust of the Americans' credit is, the false news which the English continue to make concurrent, which the friends of America cannot contradict, by want of information; it would be of the last importance to enable them, by authentic information, and which contains nothing that is not exact and true. If you would choose, Sir, to honor me with such a correspondence, be persuaded I will make a very good use of it. Communicate news as in confidence, and it will have more effect. Your letters, which I have communicated to others in Amsterdam, (however, with discretion, and without giving copies as yet,) have made a deep impression on all who have read them; all regretted that such a true and energetic defence of the cause of United America should be buried in the portfolio of a private correspondence. A description of the present state of United America, the forms of Governments in the different Republics, of the facilities with which strangers can establish themselves there, and find subsistence, the price of lands, &c., with a history of the present war and the cruelties committed by the English, would do wonders in a land where we don't know America even by the newspapers; and where there is, in the mean time, a very great number of honest people, who -I would here very near forget to be a Hollander. Continue to write me in English. Yes, Sir, I long to make our epistolary correspondence to be a basis of friendship, which, founded on our mutual attachment to the liberty of the human race, would become the most solid. I'll try to merit the same so much, that I beg you to believe that I am, with all respect due to your virtue, your talents, and your character,

"Sir, I am, (Signed.) "Johan. Theodore Van De Capellan."

The correspondence continued till the Governor's death.

In 1780 the General Assembly of Connecticut passed an act to authorize a loan abroad. The confidence which the firm and open character of his correspondence had inspired now came into use for the country. The Governor took great interest in effecting this loan, that the finances of the State might be placed upon a sure footing. The following letter to his son, Colonel John Trumbull, who was then in Europe, will give his own views on the subject:—

" Lebanon, 30th Dec. 1780.

"DEAR SON,

"The General Assembly of this State have passed an act to obtain a loan from Holland or elsewhere, to the amount of £200,000, on terms which the enclosed act will show you. This will go under cover to Messrs. Neufville & Son, in Amsterdam, to whom I refer you, among others, for their assistance and council. As our prospects principally centre in Holland, I can wish this letter may find you there, and that you will pay your first and most assiduous attention to that quarter. Give me the earliest information of the way and probable expense of getting the money in specie here, and of whatever else you may judge needful for me to be advised. This (loan) is not sought on the principles of despair, but to put our finances on a better footing; the spirit of the country remains firm and steady; men for three years, or during the war, will fill and complete the army: I hope to get the finances (of our State) upon a sure and good footing.

"I am, my dear Son,
"Your ever affectionate Father,
"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

The services of Governor Trumbull, throughout the war, were of very great importance, not merely to Connecticut, but to the United States. "General Washington relied on him as one of his main pillars of support," says Mr. Sparks, in a note to one of Washington's letters; and, indeed, the numerous letters of the General to the Governor, which have been published, are full of evidence of the correctness of the remark.

In October, 1783, Governor TRUMBULL declined any further election to public office. "A few days," said he, in his address to the General Assembly, "will bring me to the anniversary of my birth; seventy-three years of my life will then be completed; and next May, fifty-one years will have passed since I was first honored with the confidence of the people in a public character. During this period, in different capacities, it has been my lot to be called to public service almost without interruption. Fourteen years I have had the honor to fill the chief seat of Government. With what carefulness, with what zeal and attention to your welfare, I have discharged the duties of my several stations, some few of you, of equal age with myself, can witness for me from the beginning. During the latter period, none of you are ignorant of the manner in which my public life has been occupied! The watchful cares and solicitude of an eight years' distressing and unusual war have also fallen to my share, and have employed many anxious moments of my latest time; which have been cheerfully devoted to the welfare of my country. Happy am I to find that all these cares, anxieties, and solicitudes are amply compensated by the noble prospect which now opens to my fellow-citizens, of a happy establishment (if we are but wise to improve the precious opportunity) in peace, tranquillity, and national

independence. With sincere and lively gratitude to Almighty God, our great protector and deliverer, and most hearty congratulations to all our citizens, I felicitate you, Gentlemen, the other freemen, and all

the good people of the State, in this glorious prospect.

"Impressed with these sentiments of gratitude and felicitation, reviewing the long course of years in which, through various events, I have had the pleasure to serve the State; contemplating, with pleasing wonder and satisfaction, at the close of an arduous contest, the noble and enlarged scenes which now present themselves to my country's view; and reflecting, at the same time, on my advanced stage of life—a life worn out almost in the constant cares of office—I think it my duty to retire from the busy concerns of public affairs: that at the evening of my days I may sweeten their decline by devoting myself with less avocation and more attention to the duties of religion, the service of my God, and preparation for a future and happier state of existence; in which pleasing employment I shall not cease to remember my country, and to make it my ardent prayer that Heaven will not fail to bless her with her choicest favors.

"At this conspicuous moment, therefore, of my country's happiness, when she has just reached the goal of her wishes, and obtained the object for which she has so long contended, and so nobly struggled, I have to request the favor from you, Gentlemen, and through you, from all the freemen of the State, that, after May next, I may be excused from any further service in public life; and that from this time I may be no longer considered as an object of your suffrages for

any public employment in the State."

After thanking the Assembly for the aid which they had always afforded him in the discharge of his duties, the Governor availed himself of his experience, and rendered his last address "an advisory legacy" to his constituents. It is a patriarchal document, worthy of the admiration of the lovers of their country; and as such we commend it to the sons of Connecticut, that it may be rescued from oblivion, and have its place amongst the wise and patriotic counsel of the Fathers of the Commonwealth.

Governor TRUMBULL did not long survive to enjoy the tranquillity of private life. He was seized with a malignant fever, and, after a

few days' illness, died on the 17th of August, 1785.

The subject of this brief sketch was a remarkable man, even amongst the prominent men of his time. Educated for the ministry, and his career changed by unexpected events to the discharge of the highest civil duties of the State, there was a combination of religion

and worldly wisdom in all his actions, and which may be traced in his correspondence. Even his manners were characterized by the same traits, and won the admiration and regard of those who were familiar with Courts and courtiers, as well as of his own unsophisticated countrymen.

He was an indefatigable student; and notwithstanding his weighty responsibilities and official cares, he found time to "search the Scriptures" in the original languages; kept up his acquaintance with ancient and modern history; and did more than any other person of his day to preserve the knowledge of the early history of his own country. He retained the costume of the early part of the eighteenth century, and the primitive habits of his fathers; he was grave, and serious, and mild in his discourse, but firm and resolute in action. He took time to deliberate on all subjects, and expressed his opinions forcibly and with decision.

The following letter, addressed to the venerable Governor's son, (who was afterward Governor,) will be read with attention and respect: and, in addition to what we have already stated, will, we believe, furnish a sufficient answer to the numerous inquiries we have received, why we have selected a subject about whom so little is generally known:-

"Mount Vernon, Oct. 1st, 1785.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"It has so happened that your letter of the 1st of last month, did not reach me until Sa-

"You know too well the sincere respect and regard I entertained for your venerable father's public and private character, to require assurance of the concern I felt for his death; or of that sympathy in your feelings for the loss of him, which is prompted by friendship. Under this loss, however, great as your pangs may have been at the first shock, you have every thing to console you.

"A long and well-spent life in the service of his country, places Governor Trumbull among the first of patriots. In the social duties he yielded to no one; and his lamp, from the common course of nature being nearly extinguished, worn down with age and cares, but retaining his mental faculties in perfection, are blessings which rarely attend advanced life. All these combined, have secured to his memory unusual respect and love here, and,

no doubt, unmeasurable happiness hereafter.

"I am sensible that none of these observations can have escaped you, that I can offer nothing which your own reason has not already suggested upon the occasion; and being of Sterne's opinion, that "before an affliction is digested, consolation comes too soon, and after it is digested it comes too late, there is but a mark between these two, almost as fine as a hair, for a comforter to take aim at," I rarely attempt it; nor should I add more on this subject to you, as it will be a renewal of sorrow, by calling afresh to your remembrance things that had better be forgotton.

"My principal pursuits are of a rural nature, in which I have great delight, especially as I am blessed with the enjoyment of good health. Mrs. Washington, on the contrary, is

hardly ever well; but, thankful for your kind remembrance of her, joins me nevery good wish for you, Mrs. Trumbull, and your family.

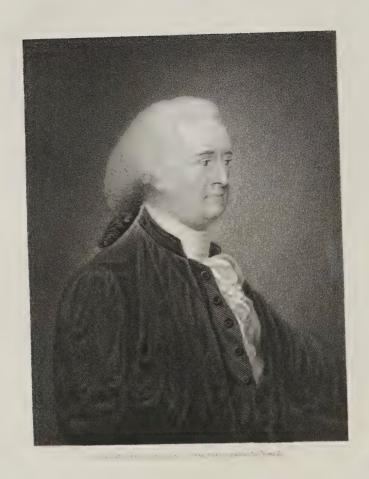
"Be assured, that with sentiments of the purest esteem and regard, I am,
"Dear Sir, your affectionate friend,
"And obedient servant,
"Geo. Washington."

It is a coincidence worth remarking that Governor TRUMBULL lived to exactly the same age as his father. The Governor was interred in the tomb of the Trumbull family, at Lebanon. It is believed that no cemetery in this country contains the ashes of more revolutionary worthies than this. There repose the remains of two Governors, one commissary-general, and a signer of the declaration of independence. The following inscription records the memory of the worthy Governor JONATHAN TRUMBULL. We have been unable to satisfy ourselves as to the exact date of his death, whether it was on the ninth of August, as recorded on the pedestal, or the seventeenth, as stated in the memoir: - Sacred to the memory of Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., who, unaided by birth or powerful connexions, but blessed with a noble and virtuous mind, arrived to the highest station in government. His patriotism and firmness during fifty years' employment in public life, and particularly in the important part he acted in the American revolution, as Governor of Connecticut, the faithful page of history will record.

Full of years and honors, rich in benevolence, and firm in the faith and hopes of Christianity, he died August 9, 1785, Ætatis 75.

Governor TRUMBULL collected a large number of papers and manuscripts, which were presented by the family to the Massachusetts Historical Society; several of them have been printed in the volumes of their collections.





J- Lulledo





JOHN RUTLEDGE.

"In the friendly competitions of the states for the comparative merits of their respective statesmen and orators," says Dr. Ramsay, (to whose sketches we are indebted for this memoir,) "while Massachusetts boasts of her John Adams—Connecticut of her Ellsworth—New-York of her Jay—Pennsylvania of her Wilson—Delaware of her Bayard—Virginia of her Henry—South Carolina rests her claims on the talents and eloquence of John Rutledge."

This eminent patriot of the Revolution was the son of Dr. John Rutledge, who, with his brother Andrew, both natives of Ireland, settled in Carolina about the year 1735. Dr. Rutledge married Miss Hext, who became the mother of the subject of the present memoir in 1739 in the 15th year of her age. This lady became a widow at an early period, and adds another example to the number, already noticed in this work, of illustrous matrons, who, by devotion to their maternal duties, have been honored and rewarded in the virtues and

eminence of their offspring.

The early education of John Rutledge was conducted by David Rhind, an excellent classical scholar, and one of the most successful of the early instructors of youth in Carolina. After he had made considerable progress in the Latin and Greek classics, he entered on the study of law with James Parsons, and was afterwards entered a student in the Temple, and proceeding barrister, came out to Charleston and commenced the practice of law in 1761. One of the first causes in which he engaged was an action for breach of a promise of marriage. The subject was interesting, and gave an excellent opportunity for displaying his talents. It was improved, and his eloquence astonished all who heard him.

Instead of rising by degrees to the head of his profession, he burst forth at once the able lawyer and accomplished orator. Business flowed in upon him. He was employed in the most difficult causes, and retained with the largest fees that were usually given. The

client in whose service he engaged, was supposed to be in a fair way of gaining his cause. He was but a short time in practice, when that cloud began to lower, which, in the course of ten or twelve years, burst forth in a revolutionary storm. In the year 1764 Governor Boone refused to administer to Christopher Gadsden the oaths which the law required every person returned as a member in the commons house of assembly to take before he entered on his legislative functions. This kindled the indignation of the house, as being an interference with their constitutional privileges as the sole judges of the qualifications of their own members. In rousing the assembly and the people to resist all interferences of the royal governors in deciding who should, or who should not be members of the commons house of assembly, John Rutledge kindled a spark which has

never since been extinguished.

This controversy was scarcely ended when the memorable Stamp Act was passed. The British Colonies were then detached from each other, and had never acted in concert. A proposition was made by the assembly of Massachusetts to the different provincial assemblies for appointing committees from each to meet in congress as a rallying point of union. To this novel project many objections were made; some doubted its legality, others its expedience, and most its efficiency. To remove objections, to conciliate opposition, and to gain the hearty concurrence of the assembly and the people, was no easy matter. In accomplishing these objects, the abilities of John Rutledge were successfully exerted. Objections vanished—prejudices gave way before his eloquence. The public mind was illuminated, and a more correct mode of thinking took place. A vote for appointing deputies to a Continental congress was carried in South Carolina at an early day, and before it had been agreed to by the neighboring states. Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and JOHN RUTLEDGE, were appointed. The last was the youngest, and had very lately began to tread the threshold of manhood. When the first congress met in New-York in 1765, the members of the distant provinces were surprised at the eloquence of the young member from Carolina. In the means of education that province was far behind those to the northward. Of it little more was known or believed than that it produced rice and indigo, and contained a large proportion of slaves and a handful of free men, and that most of the latter were strangers to vigorous health, all self-indulgent, and none accustomed to active exertions either of mind or body. From such a province nothing great was expected. A respectable committee of

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

its assembly, and the distinguished abilities of one of them who was among the youngest members of the congress, produced at this first general meeting of the Colonies more favorable ideas of South Carolina than had hitherto prevailed.

After the repeal of the Stamp Act, John Rutledge was for some years no further engaged in politics than as a lawyer and a member of the provincial legislature. In both capacities he was admired as a public speaker. His ideas were clear and strong-his utterance rapid but distinct—his voice, action, and energetic manner of speaking, forcibly impressed his sentiments on the minds and hearts of all who heard him. At reply he was quick-instantly comprehended the force of an objection-and saw at once the best mode of weakening or repelling it. He successfully used both argument and wit for invalidating the observations of his adversary: by the former he destroyed or weakened their force; by the latter he placed them in so ludicrous a point of light that it often convinced, and scarcely ever failed of conciliating and pleasing his hearers. Many were the triumphs of his eloquence at the bar and in the legislature; and in the former case probably more than strict impartial justice would sanction; for judges and juries, counsel and audience, hung on his accents.

In or after the year 1774 a new and more extensive field was opened before him. When news of the Boston port-bill reached Charleston, a general meeting of the inhabitants was called by expresses sent over the state. After the proceedings of the British parliament were stated to this convention of the province, sundry propositions were offered for consideration. To the appointment of delegates for a general congress no objection was made. But this was followed by propositions for instructing them how far they might go in pledging the province to support the Bostonians. Such a discordance of opinions was discovered as filled the minds of the friends of liberty with apprehensions that the meeting would prove abortive. In this crisis John Rutledge, in a most cloquent speech, advocated a motion which he brought forward to give no instructions whatever; but to invest the men of their choice with full authority to concur in any measure they thought best, and to pledge the people of South Carolina to abide by whatever they would agree, to. The demonstrated that any thing less than plenary discretion to this extent would be unequal to the crisis. To those who, after stating the dangers of such extensive powers, begged to be informed what must be done in case the delegates made a bad use of their unlimited authority to pledge

the state to any extent, a laconic answer was returned: "Hang them." An impression was made on the multitude. Their minds were subdued by the decision of the proposed measure, and the energy with which it was supported. On that day and by this vote the Revolution was virtually accomplished. By it the people of Carolina determined to be free, deliberately invested five men of their choice as their representatives with full powers to act for them and to take charge of their political interests. Royal government received a mortal wound, and the representative system was planted in its stead. The former lingered for a few months and then expired. The latter instantly took root, and has ever since continued to grow and flourish. An election immediately followed. The mover of this spirited resolution, his brother Edward Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and Henry Middleton, were elected. Furnished with such ample powers, they took their seats in congress under great advantages, and by their conduct justified the confidence reposed in them. John Rutledge was continued by successive elections a member of congress till the year 1776. He returned to Charleston in the beginning of that year, and was elected president and commander-in-chief of Carolina, in conformity to a constitution established by the people, on the 26th of March 1776. His duties henceforward were executive. He employed himself diligently in arranging the new government, and particularly in preparing for the defence of the state against an expected invasion by the British. Their attack on Sullivan's Island has been already related.* On this occasion John Rutledge rendered his country important service. General Lee, who commanded the Continental troops, pronounced Sullivan's Island to be a "slaughter pen," and either gave orders or was disposed to give orders for its evacuation. The zeal of the state, and the energy of its chief magistrate, prevented this measure. Carolina had raised troops before congress had declared independence. These remained subject to the authority of the state, and were at this early period not immediately under the command of the officers of congress. To prevent the evacuation of the fort on Sullivan's Island, JOHN RUTLEDGE, shortly before the commencement of the action on the 28th of June, 1776, wrote the following laconic note to General Moultrie, who commanded on the island. "General Lee wishes you to evacuate the fort. You will not without an order from me. I would sooner cut off my hand than write one. J. Rutledge."

^{*} In the biography of General Moultrie, in the first volume of this work.

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

The consequences which would probably have followed from the evacuation of the fort, may in some measure be conjectured from the events of 1780; when the British, grown wiser, passed the same fort without engaging it.

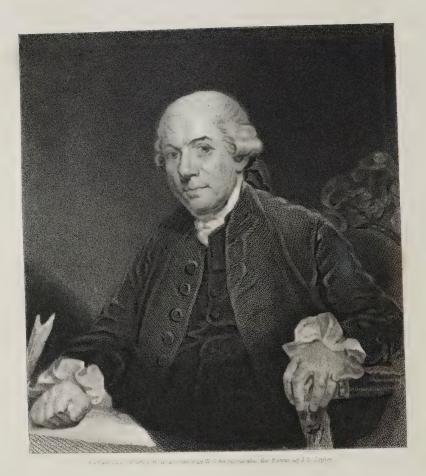
JOHN RUTLEDGE continued in the office of president till March 1778, when he resigned. The occasion and reasons of his resignation are matters of general history. This did not diminish his popularity. Of this the legislature gave the strongest proof; for the next election he was reinstated in the executive authority of the state, but under a new constitution, and with the name of Governor substituted in the place of President. He had scarcely entered on the duties of this office, when the country was invaded by the British General Prevost. Governor Rutledge made great exertions to repel this invasion—to defend Charleston in the years 1779, 1780 -to procure the aid of congress and of the adjacent states-to drive back the tide of British conquest—to recover the state, and to revive its suspended legislative and judicial powers. On the close of his executive duties in 1782, he was elected and served as a member of congress till 1783. In this period he was called upon to perform an extraordinary duty. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis in October, 1781, seemed to paralyze the exertions of the states. Thinking the war and all danger to be over, they no longer acted with suitable vigor. Congress, fearing that this languor would encourage Great Britain to re-commence the war, sent deputations of their members to rouse the states to a sense of their danger and duty. On the 22d of May, 1782, John Rutledge and George Clymer were sent in this character, and instructed "to make such representation to the several states southward of Philadelphia as were best adapted to their respective circumstances and the present situation of public affairs, and as might induce them to carry the requisitions of congress into effect with the greatest dispatch." They were permitted to make a personal address to the Virginia assembly. In the execution of this duty, John Rutledge drew such a picture of the United States, and of the danger to which they were exposed by the backwardness of the particular states to comply with the requisitions of congress, as produced a very happy effect. The addresser acquitted himself with so much ability that the Virginians, who, not without reason, are proud of their statesmen and orators, began to doubt whether their Patrick Henry or the Carolina Rutledge was the most accomplished public speaker. Soon after the termination of Mr. Rutledge's con-Vol. 4.-E

gressional duties, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary from the United States to Holland, but declined serving.

In the year 1784 he was elected a judge of the court of Chancery in South Carolina. The events of the late war had greatly increased the necessity for such a court. John Rutledge draughted the bill for organizing it on a new plan, and in it introduced several provisions, which have been very highly commended as improvements on the English court of the same name. Mr. Rutledge's public duties hitherto had been either legislative or executive. They were henceforward judicial. If comparisons were proper, it might be added that he was most at home in the latter. His knowledge of the law was profound; but the talent which pre-eminently fitted him for dispensing justice was a comprehensive mind, which could at once take into view all the bearings and relations of a complicated case. When the facts were all fairly before him, he promptly knew what justice required. The pleadings of lawyers gratified their clients, but rarely cast any light on the subject which had not already presented itself to his own view. Their declamations and addresses to the passions were lost on him. Truth and justice were the pole-stars by which his decisions were regulated. He speedily resolved the most intricate cases, pursued general principles through their various modifications till they led to the fountain of justice. His decrees were so luminous, and the grounds of them so clearly expressed, that the defeated party was generally satisfied.

In the year 1787 he was called upon to assist in framing a national constitution in lieu of the advisory system of the confederation. In arranging the provisions of that bond of union, and in persuading his countrymen to accept it, he was eminently useful. As soon as it was in operation, he was designated by President Washington as an associate justice of the Supreme court of the United States. In this office he served till 1791, when he was elected chief justice of South Carolina. He was afterwards appointed chief justice of the United States. Thus for more than thirty years, with few and short intervals, he served his country in one or other of the departments of government; and in all with fidelity and ability. This illustrious man closed his variegated career in the year 1800.





Atem Laurens





HENRY LAURENS.

Henry Laurens was born at Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1724. His ancestors were French protestants, who sought in the American wilderness a retuge from persecution, shortly after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. We have already traced the genealogy of several of our Revolutionary patriots to the same period.

After receiving the best education which the most competent teachers in Carolina could impart, Henry Laurens was put under the care of Thomas Smith, a merchant of Charleston, and afterwards of Mr. Crockatt of London, and acquired those habits of order and method in business for which he was remarkable. On his return to Charleston he entered into partnership with Mr. Austin, a merchant already engaged in an extensive trade. He devoted himself to business with a zeal and industry which far surpassed his contemporaries; and he established a character for himself worthy the emulation of all young merchants. He was scrupulously punctual in the discharge of all pecuniary engagements, and in being where, and doing what, he had promised. He was an early riser, and frequently had the business of the day arranged when others were beginning to think of leaving their beds. His letters were generally written in the retired hours of the night or morning; and whether on subjects of business, friendship, or amusement, were considered models of forcible expression and perspicuity of language.

He studied human nature in all the various specimens which it was his interest to know thoroughly, with the earnestness of Lavater; and his judgment enabled him very soon to ascertain the true value of every man with whom he had to transact business. His diligence, prudence, and knowledge of men and business, could not fail of success; and in winding up the concerns of the partnership, in 1770, twenty-three years after its commencement, and which had embraced transactions to the amount of many millions, such was their confidence in the safety of their business, that he offered to his partner to take all

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outstanding debts as cash at a discount of only five per cent. on the aggregate amount.

One of the strong traits of his character, was his love of justice. He would never draw a bill of exchange until he had a written acknowledgment of indebtedness to the amount drawn for. He once had a lawsuit with the Vice-Admiralty Judge, in which he resisted the claims of the royal government, which by some recent regulations were hostile to American rights. Mr. Laurens being cast, he tendered to the Judge his legal fees to a considerable sum. The Judge declined receiving them, and Mr. Laurens conceiving he had no right to retain what was legally due from him, gave the amount to the South Carolina Society, to be expended in charity. He pursued the same course on other occasions, when money was left unclaimed in his hands, which he was unwilling to keep.

He once persuaded a favorite slave to receive the small pox by inoculation, which terminated fatally. To comfort the dying man for the unfortunate issue of the experiment, assurances were given to him that his children should be emancipated; which was accordingly done.

Having amassed a fortune tar exceeding what was then common in America, and being a widower, he went to Europe in 1771, to superintend the education of his sons. During his residence in England, the disputes between the Colonies and the parent state continued to approach the point where an amicable adjustment was hopeless. Mr. Laurens saw the approaching crisis, and endeavored to arrest it. True to his country, and fully assured of the firm determinations of his countrymen to resist oppression, he was anxious to avert the stroke which he foresaw would rouse them to arms in self-defence. He united with thirty-eight other Americans in a petition to the British Parliament against the passage of the bill to shut up the port of Boston, and so soon as he found the die was cast against his country, he hastened his departure to Carolina, determined to take his share in the struggle for freedom. Great efforts were made to induce him to remain in England, but he would not listen to the persuasions of friends nor the allurements of interest. When about to embark from Falmouth, he wrote to Mr. Oswald, who was subsequently one of the negotiators for peace, "Your ministers are deaf to information, and seem bent on provoking unnecessary contest. I think I have acted the part of a faithful subject. I now go resolved still to labor for peace; at the same time determined, in the last event, to stand or fall with my country." To numerous friends in England he freely gave the assurance that

HENRY LAURENS.

America would not submit to the claims of the British Parliament, and on his landing at Charleston, in December 1774, he declared with equal confidence that Britain would not recede, and that war was inevitable. Much reliance was placed upon his opinion, and vigorous preparations for defence were immediately commenced by the Caroli nians.

Mr. Laurens was a member of the first Provincial Congress, held at Charleston on the 11th of January, 1775, and was elected president of the Council of Safety, appointed by that body, with powers to carry on the business of the Colony during the recess of the Congress. This committee, or Council of Safety, were invested with full executive powers; they stamped money, raised troops, issued commissions to officers, authorised an attempt on the Island of Providence for the acquisition of military stores; sent a talk to the Catawba Indians; and performed, indeed, all the functions of a regular government with admirable firmness, although they were well aware that their lives and fortunes were at stake.

The well-known activity and promptness which had distinguished Mr. LAURENS as a merchant, were equally valuable in him as a statesman; and the public business was despatched with vigor and sound judgment until the establishment of a regular constitution in the State of South Carolina, in March 1776. He was soon afterward elected a member of Congress, of which he was appointed president on the 1st of November, 1777. The station to which he was now elevated brought him into intimate correspondence with Washington, and it may be remarked as one of the events of this period of his life, of equal importance to his country and his own fame, that when the Commander-inchief was assailed by a malignant faction, which sought, by false and anonymous suggestions, to obtain his removal, Mr. Laurens remained firm and steadfast in his attachment to Washington, and was the first to expose the artifices of his opponents. The alliance with France, and the efforts of the British ministry to neutralize its effects by sending out commissioners to treat with the constituted authorities in America, or with individuals, were also important events of the same period.

In December, 1778, Mr. Laurens resigned the chair of Congress. In the following year he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Holland, for the purpose of forming a commercial treaty, and to obtain loans. Some unofficial overtures had been previously received, and even the plan of a treaty between the States general of Holland and the United States had been communicated to Congress, which Mr.

Laurens was authorised to carry into effect. He sailed for Europe in the summer of 1780, and was captured on his passage out by a British frigate. He threw his papers overboard, but as they did not immediately sink, they were recovered by the activity of a British sailor, and disclosed the situation of affairs between the two countries, and led to the declaration of war against Holland when the demand of the English minister for speedy satisfaction was not complied with.

Mr. Laurens was carried to London, where he was examined before the Privy Council, and committed a close prisoner to the Tower on the charge of high treason. There he was confined more than a year, and was treated with great severity. No person was permitted to speak to him, nor was he permitted to speak to any one; he was deprived of the use of pen and ink, and all intercourse by letters was strictly prohibited. These strict orders were, however, relaxed after a few weeks; for the King's ministers were desirous of turning his influence to advantage, and they dared not to punish him capitally for fear of retaliation.

One of his friends in London applied to the Secretary of State for Mr. Laurens's liberation on parole, and offered his whole fortune as security for his good conduct; he was authorised to say to Mr. Laurens, that "if he would point out any thing for the benefit of Great Britain in the present dispute with the Colonies, he should be enlarged." This proposition was indignantly rejected. The same friend soon after was permitted to visit him with another proposition, the amount of which was, that he should remain in London, as the ministers would have frequent occasion to consult him; and that he should write two or three lines to them, merely to say that he was sorry for what had passed. "A pardon will be granted," said his friend. "Every man has been wrong at some time or other of his life, and should not be ashamed to acknowledge it." Mr. Laurens replied, "I will never subscribe to my own infamy, and to the dishonor of my children."

Cut off from all social intercourse, he was only permitted to learn the progress of events during his confinement from such newspapers as announced the successes of the British arms, particularly in South Carolina, after the surrender of Charleston; or his own misfortune in the sequestration of his estate by the conquerors. Still he remained steadfast and unmoved.

In the course of the year 1781, it was intimated to Mr. LAURENS that it would be advantageous to him if he would write to his son, Colonel Laurens, then on a mission to the Court of France, and request

HENRY LAURENS.

him to withdraw from that country. But he replied, "My son is of age, and has a will of his own; if I should write to him in the terms you request, it would have no effect, he would only conclude that confinement and persuasion had softened me. I know him to be a man of honor. He loves me dearly, and would lay down his life to save mine; but I am sure he would not sacrifice his honor to save my life, and I applaud him."

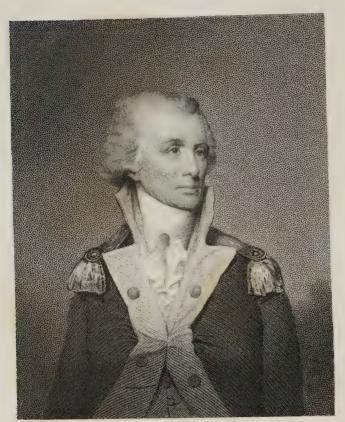
Mr. Laurens wrote with a pencil a request to the Secretary of State for permission to use pen and ink, for the purpose of drawing a bill of exchange on a merchant in London, who was in his debt, as he was in want of means for his immediate support. To this application no answer was returned. As soon as he had completed a year in the Tower, he was called on to pay ninety-four pounds ten shillings sterling to the two warders who had attended him; but he replied, "I will not pay the warders whom I never employed, and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with." Three weeks afterward, materials were brought to him to write a bill of exchange, but they were removed the moment that business was done.

Towards the end of the year 1781, the sufferings which Mr. Lau-RENS had been compelled to endure in the Tower began to be generally known; and elicited strong expressions of compassion in his favor, and censure against the authors of his confinement. But there were difficulties in the way of his release not easy to be overcome. He would make no concessions, nor consent to any act which implied that he was a British subject; as such he had been committed, on a charge of high treason, but he regarded himself as a citizen of the United States,—a prisoner of war. To extricate themselves from this difficulty, Ministers proposed to take bail for his appearance at the court of King's Bench. When the words of the recognizance. "Our sovereign lord the King," were read to Mr. Laurens, he replied in open court, "Not my sovereign!!" Notwithstanding that, he, with Mr. Oswald and Mr. Anderson as his securities, was bound for his appearance at the next court of King's Bench for Easter term, and for not departing without leave of the Court, on which he was immediately released. When the time drew near for his appearance at court, he was not only discharged from all obligations to attend, but was solicited by Lord Shelbourne to assist, by his presence on the continent, at the negotiations for peace which were then in progress. He proceeded to Paris, and there signed the preliminaries of peace on the 30th of November, 1782, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, John Adams. and John Jay.

Mr. Laurens soon after returned to Carolina, with a constitution broken by the rigorous confinement of more than fourteen months in the Tower, and he never afterwards enjoyed good health. His countrymen rejoiced at his return, and proffered every mark of honor in their power to bestow; but he declined all solicitations to suffer them to elect him governor, a member of congress, or of the legislature of the state. He was, without his consent, elected a member of the convention for the revision of the federal constitution, but declined serving. He retired from all public business, and interested himself only in promoting the welfare and happiness of his family and dependents, by various agricultural experiments, and the improvement of the society of his friends and neighbors.

His health gradually declined, and on the 8th of December, 1792, near the close of his 69th year, he expired. His will concluded with the following remarkable request, which was literally complied with: "I solemnly enjoin it on my son, as an indispensable duty, that as soon as he conveniently can after my decease, he cause my body to be wrapped in twelve yards of tow-cloth, and burnt until it be entirely consumed, and then, collecting my bones, deposite them wherever he may think proper."





Engraved by . Farker it ma frame, to W. Armen to the monal Portrait by C. W. Peals

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The Dumter in





THOMAS SUMTER.

The name of General Sumter, of South Carolina, is conspicuous in the story of our revolutionary struggle, but the details of his actions are scattered through many books, and have never, we believe, been arranged in the form of a personal memoir. After many efforts to obtain new matter, and to render this sketch more perfect than we could otherwise hope to make it from the materials within our reach, we have to confess our utter failure. The indifference or procrastination of the present representative of the family, to whom we have applied, has left us, up to the last moment, without a line of information; and the unhappy fate of the Steamer Home deprived us of Professor Nott, who had engaged to furnish a biography of General Sumter from such materials as he could obtain in South Carolina. We are therefore thrown upon our own resources, and can only promise a careful collection of all the material facts in relation to the public life of the distinguished soldier, who, as a partisan officer, scarcely ranked below even Marion himself

It is probable that the military talents of General Sumter had been exhibited in the militia service of Carolina long before the commencement of the revolution; as we find that so early as March, 1776, he was appointed by the provincial congress lieutenant-colonel of the second regiment of riflemen; but he does not appear to have particularly distinguished himself until after the fall of Charleston, in May, 1780. His peculiar genius had then free scope, and led him on to a series of actions of importance to his country, and the more remarkable from the circumstances under which he organized his force, and the sudden and unexpected check given to the rapid career of the conquerors of General Lincoln's army.

In a few weeks after the capitulation of Charleston, the enemy held complete possession of the state, and on the 4th of June Sir Henry Clinton wrote to his government, "I may venture to assert that there are few men in South Carolina, who are not either our prisoners or

in arms with us." The few brave spirits who had not bowed to the storm, sought shelter and the means of renewing the contest in North Carolina. Among these was Colonel Sumter; but despondency and inactivity formed no part of his character. At the head of a body of republicans like himself, driven from their native states, who had chosen him to their command; few in number, imperfectly armed, and almost destitute of ammunition, he returned to South Carolina, to oppose himself to a veteran and victorious army.

On the 12th of July he surprised and cut to pieces a superior party of the enemy, composed of thirty-five dragoons of the legion, twenty mounted infantry, and a large body of loyalists. The commander of the party, Captain Huck, a miscreant noted for his cruelty and profanity, was killed; and of his whole party but about twenty made their escape.

Among those who served under Col. Sumter, was Colonel Neale. This gentleman, an ardent Whig, had commanded a regiment of militia in S. Carolina, and had fled from the state after the fall of Charleston. When Lord Cornwallis, contrary alike to policy and justice, determined to admit no neutrality in the contest, but that all who did not unite themselves to the British force should be proceeded against as enemies, Col. Neale's regiment was enrolled in the royal service. Hearing of the approach of Sumter, together with their old commander, they hastened to join him. His force was still farther increased by the junction of small parties of Whigs from the Waxsaw settlement, who had been exasperated by the treatment of the British authorities. Col. Sumter, now promoted by Governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier-general in the state militia, found himself in a situation to undertake some more considerable enterprise.

On the 30th of July he passed Broad river at Blair's ford, with about six hundred men, and advanced upon Rocky Mount. The defences of the post consisted of two log-houses and a loop-holed building, surrounded by a ditch and an abattis—the whole placed upon a commanding eminence, and encircled by an open wood. The garrison was composed of the New-York volunteers and a party of royalist militia, and was commanded by Col. Turnbull. Having no artillery, Gen. Sumter sheltered the greater part of his men among the trees and rocks, with directions to keep up a heavy fire upon the garrison; while at the head of a picked party, he himself proceeded to the assault. After being twice repulsed, he still persevered, and succeeded in penetrating within the abattis; but the strength of the post was too great to admit of its being taken without artillery, and he was finally compelled to retire

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THOMAS SUMTER.

Not discouraged by his want of success, after an interval of eight days Sumter fell upon Hanging Rock, another of the chain of posts by which the British kept up their communication with the lower country. Hanging Rock was garrisoned by five hundred men, consisting of one hundred and sixty infantry of Tarleton's legion, a part of Col. Brown's regiment, and Bryan's North Carolina corps. Through an error of the guides, the attack was first directed against Bryan's royalists, who, being surprised, gave way in all directions. Tarleton's infantry were next forced to fall back on Brown's detachment; this, though fighting with great bravery, was in its turn compelled to give ground. The British troops retreating, formed themselves into a hollow square in the centre of their position. In the mean time the ranks of the militia had become disordered; many had been attracted by the plunder of the camp, and others had indulged too freely in the liquor which had been found in it. SUMTER, with the few troops that he could bring into array, made a determined advance upon the new position of the enemy; but the disorder had spread too deeply, and a sufficient number of men could not be assembled to make an impression on it. A retreat, therefore, was determined on. This was accomplished leisurely, and in the face of the enemy, who had suffered too severely to offer any interruption. When Gen. Sumter began the action, his men had but ten rounds of ball each, and before its termination they were amply supplied from the stores of the British and Tories.

From the inattention of the militia to regular returns of the killed and wounded, the loss on the part of the Americans could not be ascertained; many of the wounded being carried home immediately from the field of battle. The loss of the enemy considerably exceeded our own. Of one hundred and sixty men of Tarleton's legion, they acknowledge sixty-two to have been killed and wounded; and their other corps suffered severely. Immediately after the action Gen. Sumter crossed the Catawba. His reputation for enterprise and ability was now established. His success in the two latter instances would have been more decided, had it not been for his want of artillery, and the undisciplined nature of his troops. As it was, it raised the drooping spirits of the Whigs, and gave his men confidence in the skill and courage of their leader.

In the mean time Gen. Gates had entered South Carolina, and shortly afterwards his army took up a position at Rugely's Mills, not far from Gen. Sumter's encampment. Receiving information that a detachment of the enemy was on its march from Ninety-six to Camden, with stores for the main army, Sumter requested a reinforcement

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from Gen. Gates to enable him to intercept it. Col. Woolford, of the Maryland line, with one hundred continentals, two pieces of cannon, and three hundred militia, were despatched to his assistance. Thus reinforced, on the morning of the 15th of August Sumter appeared on the west bank of the Wateree, fell upon the convoy which was the object of the expedition, and succeeded in taking forty-four wagon loads of stores and clothing, together with a number of prison-On the evening of the 17th, SUMTER, who was on his retreat up the river, received intelligence of the unfortunate battle of Camden, and of the total dispersion of the American army. Unhappily, his movement up the country had brought him into the immediate neighberhood of the British army. Encumbered as he was with prisoners and baggage, he immediately continued his retreat, and by the celerity of his movement, avoided a corps under the command of Col. Turnbull, which Lord Cornwallis had despatched against him. At noon on the 18th of August, he encamped his men on the north side of Fishing Creek, a small stream that falls into the Catawba about forty miles above Camden. Here the arms were stacked, videttes were posted; and the wearied troops, overcome by fatigue, enjoyed an interval of repose, rendered more agreeable by their previous exertions.

The day after the battle of Camden, Lord Cornwallis, fearing lest SUMTER might escape Col. Turnbull, had directed Col. Tarleton, with his legion and some light infantry, to move likewise in pursuit. a rapid march, on the 17th, Col. Tarleton finding many of his men too fatigued to continue the pursuit, selected one hundred of the dragoons, together with about sixty of the light infantry, and pressed forward without intermission. Passing the Catawba at Rocky-Ford, he got into the rear of Sumter, who was utterly unapprized of his approach. Two videttes, who fired upon his advance, being killed without the alarm being taken, Tarleton fell upon the camp, seized the arms of the Americans, and instantly charged them while confused, unprepared, and unarmed. A fearful slaughter followed. A few of the regulars taking post behind the wagons, offered some resistance; but it was soon suppressed, and the rout was universal. One hundred and fifty were killed and wounded, and over three hundred were made prisoners; while the stores and clothing previously captured, again fell into the hands of the enemy. Sumter himself fortunately escaped unhurt. By this terrible blow, South Carolina was again left at the mercy of the conqueror; the few men under Marion constituting the sole force embodied for her protection.

Immediately on his defeat, Sumter retired to the upper country,

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where he was soon joined by a few of his men who had escaped the slaughter of the 18th. Volunteers flocked to his standard, and he was

again in a condition to harass the enemy.

He ranged the district about the Enoree, Broad, and Tiger Rivers. His men being all mounted, were enabled to move about the country with speed and facility. When they approached an enemy, the horses were tied and left in charge of a few of the party; so that in defeat

they afforded a safe retreat, in victory the means of pursuit.

In the early part of the fall, Sumter was at the head of such a force as to attract towards him the attention of Lord Cornwallis; and Major Wemyss, with the sixty-third regiment and about forty of the legion cavalry, was despatched in pursuit of him. The former success of Tarleton inspired Wemyss with the hope of likewise surprising his enemy. Pushing forward with great celerity on the night of the 8th November, he reached the encampment of Sumter on the bank of the Broad River. Fearing if he delayed till morning, Sumter might be advised of his proximity, he determined upon an immediate attack. At one o'clock in the morning his troops advanced to the assault. Col. Wemyss, who was at the head of his men, fell by the fire of the picket, which was immediately driven in. The British troops pushed forward; but they found the Americans in arms, and ready to receive them. Unprepared to meet so firm a resistance, and discouraged by the fall of their leader, the British forces soon retreated with precipitation, leaving their commander and twenty men upon the ground. In the morning Col. Wemyss was discovered, badly wounded. He had been active in prosecuting the severe measures of Lord Cornwallis against those Whigs, who, contrary to a solemn compact, being called upon to join the British forces, had preferred the service of their countrymen. Some of the Whigs had been hanged by his orders, and he in person had attended their execution. In his pocket was found a list of the houses which he had burned. The paper being handed to General SUMTER, he immediately threw it into the fire, and ordered every attention to be paid to the prisoner. Col. Wemyss was shortly after permitted to go to Charleston on parole.

After the action, Gen. Sumter crossed the Broad River, and effecting a junction with Cols. Clarke and Banner, who commanded parties of militia from the mountains, concerted with them measures for the surprise of Ninety-six. Lord Cornwallis, suspecting the designs of the American commander, hastily recalled Col. Tarleton, who at that time was absent on an expedition against Marion, directing him to join his forces to the sixty-third regiment, which had not yet returned from its

fruitless attack, and bring Sumter to action. Col. Tarleton pursued his foe with the impetuosity by which he was characterized. Sum TER, receiving timely information of his approach, and not being strong enough to risk an engagement, retreated. On the afternoon of the 20th of Nov. he reached Blackstock's Hill, an eminence on the east bank of the Tiger River. Here he received information of the rapid approach of Col. Tarleton, who, apprehensive lest his prey should escape, had left behind him a majority of his troops, and was advancing at the head only of the legion cavalry and some mounted infantry of the sixty-third regiment; the whole amounting to about four hundred men. Confiding in the strength of his ground, Gen. Sumter determined to await the approach of the enemy, and offer him battle. His centre was posted in some log buildings occupying the middle of the hill; his right was placed behind some rails, which were flanked by an inaccessible mountain; and his left was distributed in a piece of rugged ground covered by a bend of the river. A small brook ran in front of the whole, and the road to the ford passed directly through the centre of the position. On coming in view of the American position, Col. Tarleton was struck with its strength, and halting his men on an opposite eminence, determined to await the approach of the remainder of his force. A portion of his men were accordingly dismounted, until the arrival of his infantry should enable him to commence the battle. Observing the movement, Sumter determined to bring on an immediate action. Accordingly a number of his militia were ordered to ad vance upon the British. A sharp conflict ensued; but the sixty-third charging with fixed bayonets, the militia were driven back. Pursuing their advantage too far, the sixty-third received a murderous fire from the buildings in which the American centre was posted, and were thrown into confusion. Col. Tarleton, seeing the dangerous situation in which the regiment was placed, attempted, by a vigorous charge up hill with his cavalry, to relieve them; but his men, thinned by the fire of the Americans, were forced to retire in disorder. A second attempt on the American left was attended with no better success. All his efforts proving ineffectual, Tarleton was forced to retreat with precipitation, leaving his wounded upon the field.

On this occasion the American loss amounted to but three men killed and four wounded. The British, according to their own accounts, lost more than fifty men; while the Americans, who from remaining masters of the field, had every opportunity of information, make it amount to ninety-two men killed and one hundred wounded. Unfortunately, among the small number wounded on the American side,

THOMAS SUMTER.

was General Sumter, who received a musket ball in his breast near

the right shoulder.

After burying the dead, and supplying the wounded of the enemy with every comfort in his power, Gen. Sumter continued his retreat. Having reached a place of safety, the greater part of his followers dispersed, and he himself, guarded by a few of his faithful soldiers, was borne into North Carolina, there to wait till the healing of his wound should enable him to resume his active duties in the field. Shortly after this, Congress passed a vote directing their thanks to be presented to Gen. Sumter and the troops under his command for their patriotism, bravery, and military conduct; at the same time particularizing the affair at Hanging Rock, the defeat of Major Wemyss, and the repulse of Col. Tarleton at Blackstocks.

When Col. Tarleton wrote to Cornwallis his version of the affair, Cornwallis in his answer said, "I shall be very glad to hear that Sumter is in a condition to give us no further trouble; he certainly has been our greatest plague in this country." Sumter was confined by his wound for several months, but in the early part of Feb. 1781, though still feeble, he was sufficiently recovered again to take the field.

General Greene was at that time retreating before Lord Cornwallis, while South Carolina was again left without a continental army, Under these circumstances, it was an important object to alarm the enemy for the safety of the posts which he had left behind him in the rapid pursuit of Greene. Assembling about two hundred and fifty North Carolina militia, and being joined by Col. Wade Hampton with a small reinforcement, Sumter made a rapid movement upon Fort Granby, a post of the enemy situated on the south banks of the Congaree. Piles of rails were constructed so as to enable the marksmen to fire down upon the enemy, who were destitute of artillery. The attack was pressed so vigorously, that the British were on the point of yielding, when the appearance of Lord Rawdon on the opposite bank of the river, at the head of a superior force, compelled Sumter to retreat. Retiring southward on the second day after the affair at Granby, he surprised and captured a detachment of fifty British troops, and a convoy of provisions and clothing which they were escorting. Unfortunately, the convoy, which was of the highest importance to the American army, being placed in boats and sent down the river, was retaken by the British posted at Fort Watson. Swimming his horses across the Santee, and transporting his men in canoes, SUMTER attempted to carry the post and recover the lost booty; but being unprovided with artillery, the attempt proved vain, and the Americans were repulsed.

After sheltering his men a few days in the swamps on the north side of the Santee, he moved towards the north-eastern part of the state, and encamped in the friendly neighborhood of Charlotte.

This expedition annoyed and distressed the enemy, by breaking up the communications between his posts, kept up the spirits of the Americans, and furnished Gen. Sumter with a mass of information concerning the force and movements of the enemy. This last was imme-

diately dispatched to Gen. Greene through Col. Hampton.

Gen. Sumter's services had hitherto been performed altogether by means of militia, a species of force, in the then state of the country, constantly fluctuating in numbers, joining and leaving the camp with almost equal facility, and little to be depended on in expeditions which required time. He now attempted to enlist a body of men in the service of the state for ten months. While thus engaged, he received a letter from Gen. Greene, announcing the intention of the latter to permit Lord Cornwallis to pursue his march north without interruption from him, while he himself should again enter South Carolina, and attempt to drive the enemy from the southern states. In accordance with this plan, Gen. Sumter was directed to procure provisions for the main army, to obtain all the information in his power, and to break up, as much as possible, the communications between the enemy's Sumter, in pursuance of these instructions, took the field on the 20th of April, with the men he had been able to raise. Several parties of the royalist militia were dispersed, and the country between the Broad, Saluda, and Wateree rivers completely swept. The importance of Sumter's services at this period is shown by the frequency of his communications with Gen. Greene. Besides furnishing him with all the provisions he could collect, sometimes in the course of a day several letters containing information would be sent to the main army. On the 11th of May he made a sudden attack on the post at Orangeburg, and took near one hundred prisoners with a large supply of stores and provisions. About this time some difficulty occurring between Col. Lee and himself, Sumter sent a remonstrance to Gen. Greene, enclosing his commission; the next day it was returned with many expressions of esteem, and Sumter sacrificed his private discontent to the service of his country.

In July, when General Greene, on account of the ill-health prevalent in the army, retired to the high hills of Santee for the benefit of repose and purer atmosphere, he despatched Gen. Sumter, having under him the corps of Marion and Lee, to break up the enemy's posts in the vicinity of Charleston, and to dislodge the nineteenth regiment

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stationed at Monk's Corner. The country was swept to the gates of Charleston, the fort at Dorchester broken up, and a large party of mounted refugees were dispersed by Col. Wade Hampton, who commanded Sumter's cavalry. The main object of the expedition, which was the nineteenth regiment, then posted at Monk's Corner, failed; Col. Coates retreating during the night over a bridge which had been deserted by the militia placed to guard it. On the following day Sumter came up with the enemy, who had taken post in the house and the out-houses of Captain Shubrick; but being unprovided with artillery, after an ineffectual effort to dislodge them, he was obliged to give up the attempt.

After the expedition to Dorchester, Sumter was compelled to retire to the upper country from indisposition; nor was he enabled again to take the field before the enemy were confined to the walls of Charleston. After the peace, he was for a long time a member of the American congress—first as a representative and afterwards as a senator. He lived respected alike for his talents and services, and died on the 1st of June, 1832, at his residence near the Bradford Springs, South Ca-

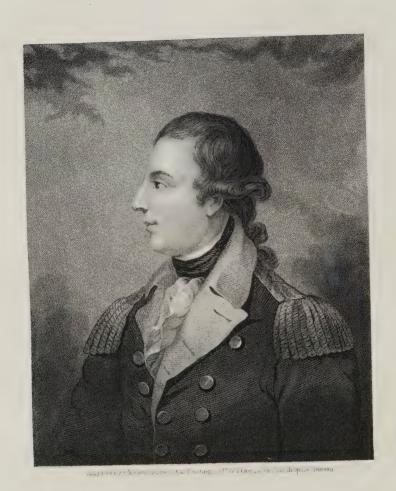
rolina, in the 98th year of his age.

SUMTER was tall and robust, with a bold and open countenance, expressive at once of energy and decision. As a partisan officer, his character was marked by courage, enterprize, and determination. "Greatly superior to General Marion in personal strength, and trusting less to stratagem and skill, he placed his fortune much more exclusively on his daring resolution and the execution of his sword. Warm in temperament and devoted to his country, whatever could contribute to rescue her from the invader and establish her independence, became an object of his ardent affection. He was also enamoured of brilliant achievement for its own sake. To victory, and the glory attending it, he would cut his way through every danger, regardless alike of his own blood and that of the enemy." At the head of a force inferior in equipment and discipline, and attached to their commander only by their confidence in his prowess and ability, he constantly kept the field against a veteran and superior enemy, commonly successful, and in defeat ever able to rally his men and renew the contest. On one unfortunate occasion he is perhaps justly chargeable with a negligence which led to the destruction of his party; but, instructed by experience, he was never again surprised, and both Wemyss and Tarleton felt the effect of his vigilance. In addition to his other qualities, Sumter was invariably humane in a contest where the conduct of both parties had afforded a good excuse for retaliatory Vol. 4.-F

cruelty. His conduct toward Wemyss and the wounded of Tarleton's legion will long remain evidence of a kindliness of nature not always to be found in the excited breast of the partisan.

This may not be an improper place to make a closing remark on the fact that not a few names of the most useful men in our revolutionary contest are almost lost to us. The principal histories of that conflict say little of the subject of this memoir, and of some others even less is recorded. This fact may be easily accounted for. Not a few representatives of families, as in the present instance, are comparatively indifferent to their fame; then again, historians themselves are apt to be partial and love to surround their special favorites with as much glory as possible, even at the expense of justice to others; and finally, those who are placed in the most prominent situations, must of necessity occupy the foreground of the picture. After all, however, the gratitude of their country is due to the noble men who compose the whole army, whether they hold important offices, or only obey those in superior stations. Nor does the true patriot object to this; for his object is, not to gain a name in history, but to serve his country. May we never need men indifferent to fame, but always have historians anxious to bestow and record it.





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RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

THE subject of the present memoir was born in the north of Ireland in 1736; possessed of excellent talents, his parents were careful to mature them by a superior education. He embraced the profession of arms at an early age, and entering the army of Great Britain, commenced his military career in America. The regiment to which he belonged made part of the army which, in 1757, was assembled at Halifax, and intended for the reduction of Louisburg, a fortress of great strength, which was believed to be the key to the French possessions in America. In the attack on that place, which commenced on the 8th of June 1758, Montgomery, who served in the élite of the army, under the immediate command of General Wolfe, gave the first decisive evidence of those high military qualities which marked his subsequent conduct. After the capture of Louisburg he marched with his regiment, under the orders of General Amherst, to the relief of Abercrombie, who had been defeated at Ticonderoga. He remained at that point on lake Champlain until 1760, when the conquest of Canada was completed

Large detachments of the British forces in America were then sent to operate against the French and Spanish West India Islands. In the two campaigns which were employed on that laborious and perilous service, Montgomery had a full share of toil and danger, and his conduct was rewarded by promotion to the command of a company.

Soon after the peace in 1763, his regiment returned to New-York, and he obtained leave of absence and revisited Europe, where he remained until 1772, when, having been twice circumvented in the purchase of a majority, he sold his commission, and in January of the

following year he arrived in New-York. On his arrival he purchased an estate on the Hudson, about one hundred miles from the city, and married a daughter of Robert R. Livingston. Adopting, in their fullest extent, the American feelings for liberty and hatred of oppression, he freely expressed his readiness to draw his sword on the side of the Colonies; and on the commencement of the revolutionary struggle, the command of the Continental forces was intrusted to him in conjunction with General Schuyler, in the fall of 1775. In October, the indisposition of the latter preventing him from taking the field, the chief command devolved upon General Montgomery.

Leaving his peaceful retirement on the banks of the Hudson, where he had acquired that station and authority among his fellow-citizens which superior acquirements and inflexible integrity never fail to secure, he felt himself called upon, like another Regulus, to bid farewell to those domestic endearments with which he was eminently blessed, and to rush at once upon his short career, which, however sudden its termination, was crowded with scenes of virtuous activity

sufficient to have dignified the longest life.

The Canada expedition of this year was one of those measures, which the enemies of America having first rendered necessary, soon strove to construe into an act of hostility and offence. It was evident that preparations were in readiness to invade our frontiers by armed bands of savages, supported by disciplined troops. General Mont-GOMERY was therefore despatched to avert the stroke if possible, but if that should prove impracticable, his instructions authorized him to storm the intermediate posts and to attack Quebec. His movements were characterised no less by their efficiency than their humanity. He soon reduced Fort Chamblee, captured St. John's, and by the 12th of November Montreal also surrendered. On the 1st of December he joined Colonel Arnold at Point-aux-Trembles, and proceeded to the siege of Quebec; but as his artillery was not of sufficient calibre to make the requisite impression, he determined upon attempting the capture of the place by storm. The several divisions were accordingly put in motion in the midst of a heavy snow storm, which concealed them from the enemy. Montgomery advanced at the head of the New-York troops along the banks of the St. Lawrence, and assisted, with his own hands, in pulling up the pickets which obstructed his approach to the second barrier, which he was resolved to force. At this juncture the only gun that was fired from the battery of the enemy killed him and his two aid-de-camps. The three fell at the same time, and rolled upon the ice formed upon the river.

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RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

The enemy had been struck with consternation, and all but one or two had fled. The death of the general saved Quebec.

When he fell, he was in a narrow passage; and when his body was found the next morning among the slain, it was brought into the city and buried by a few soldiers without any marks of distinction.

General Montgomery's military talents are admitted on all hands to have been great; his measures were taken with judgment and executed with vigor. With undisciplined and raw troops, illy supplied with arms and ammunition, yet he inspired his men with his own enthusiasm; he led them in the coldest season of the year to an inclement country, shared with them in all their hardships, and to the hour of his death was the conqueror of our foes. His industry could not be wearied, nor his vigilance imposed upon. Above the pride of opinion, when a measure was adopted by the majority contrary to his judgment he gave it his full support. He was in every respect admirably calculated to fulfil his arduous enterprise; the command and conduct of the army formed but a small part of his difficult undertaking. The Indians were to be treated with, restrained, and kept in good humor. The French Canadians were likewise to be soothed. protected, and supported; his own army required to be formed, disciplined, animated, accustomed to marches, encampments, dangers and fatigues; and frequently the want of necessary supplies demanded in the first officer the courage of a soldier united to the benevolence of a man. When the men labored under fatigue and wanted bread, had their beds to make in snow or in morasses, they disdained complaint when they saw their commander share in every particular but little better than themselves. On one occasion he says in a letter:-

"Our camp is so swampy I feel exceedingly for the troops; and provisions so scarce, it will require not only dispatch, but good fortune, to keep us from distress. Should things go well, I tremble for the fate of the poor Canadians who have ventured so much. What shall I do with them should I be obliged to evacuate this country? I have assured them that the United Colonies will as soon give up Massachusetts to resentment as them."

Instead of making a merit of the difficulties of his campaign, he sought, in his letters and despatches, to conceal them, ascribing the faults of his "young troops" to their "want of experience," to their hard duty, the constant succession of bad weather, &c., still encouraging them to nobler efforts in future; and if any impatience of discipline appeared, he attributed it to "that spirit of freedom which

men, accustomed to think for themselves, will bring even into camps

His perseverance and good conduct in gaining possession of St. John's and Montreal were the theme of every tongue; his abilities in negotiation; the precision with which the various articles of treaties and capitulations were expressed; the generous applause he gave, not only to every worthy effort of his own officers, but to the commanding officer and garrison of St. John's; his noble declaration to the inhabitants of Montreal, that "the Continental armies despise every act of oppression and violence, being come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security;" all these did honor to himself and to congress, under whose authority he acted.

In a memoir of General Montgomery it would be unjust wholly to omit a tribute to his aids, who fell with him in Canada. were Captains Macpherson and Cheesman. The first, having finished his education at Princeton, studied law with John Dickinson; animated by his example and precepts, he had become eminent in his profession at a period when many are deemed "under age." The love of liberty being his ruling passion, he thought it his duty to offer himself to the service of his country, and he had soon an op portunity of attaining the military rank of which he was laudably ambitious. He soon became the bosom friend of General Mont-COMERY, was entrusted with a share of his most important negotiations, and stood by his side in the attack upon Quebec; in death they were not a moment divided.

Captain Cheesman, of the New-York forces, fell at the same time, covered with honor, and lamented by all who knew him as an active and gallant officer. Captain Hendricks also deserves mention; he commanded one of the Pennsylvania rifle companies, and was a gal-The command of the guard belonged to him on the morning of the attack; but he solicited and obtained leave to take a more conspicuous post, and having led his men through the barrier where his commanding officer, General Arnold, was wounded, he long sustained the fire of the garrison with unshaken firmness, till, at last, receiving a shot in his breast, he immediately expired.

The sorrow of the American people for the loss of Montgomery was heightened by the esteem which his amiable character had gained him. The whole country mourned his death; and to express the high sense entertained of his services, congress directed a monument of marble to be placed in front of St. Paul's church in the city of New-York, with the following appropriate inscription:-

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

THIS MONUMENT

Was erected by order of
Congress, 25th January, 1776,
To transmit to posterity
A grateful remembrance of the
Patriotism, conduct, enterprise, and
Perseverance

Of Major-General Richard Mongomery;

Who, after a series of success
Amidst the most discouraging difficulties,
Fell in the attack
On Quebec,
31st December, 1775.
Aged 37* years.

His remains, (after resting forty-two years at Quebec,) by a resolution of the state of New-York, were brought to the city; and on the 8th of July, 1818, they were deposited with grateful ceremonies beneath the aforesaid monument.

Such an example is worthy of the great state which conceived and executed it. Many of our brave men and legislators of the era that tried men's souls still slumber in ignoble scites; it is time the nation was awakened from its apathy on this subject.

As an appropriate conclusion, we may be permitted to quote the following character of General Montgomery from Ramsay's History of the American Revolution:—

"Few men have ever fallen in battle so much regretted by both sides as General Montgomery. His many amiable qualities had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his great abilities an equal proportion of public esteem. Being a sincere lover of liberty, he had engaged in the American cause from principle, and quitted the enjoyment of an easy fortune and the highest domestic felicity, to take an active share in the fatigues and dangers of a war instituted for the defence of the community of which he was an adopted member. His well-known character was almost equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused.

^{*} The age on the monument is 37, as inserted in the text, but it is evidently an error. General Armstrong, in his Memoir of Montgomery, says, he fell "in the first month of his fortieth year."—Ep.

In America he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind; in Great Britain, as a misguided good man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country. His name was mentioned in parliament with singular respect. Some of the most powerful speakers in that assembly displayed their eloquence in sounding his praise and lamenting his fate. Those, in particular, who had been his fellow soldiers in the late war, expatiated on his many virtues. The minister himself acknowledged his worth while he reprobated the cause in which he fell. He concluded an involuntary panegyric by saying-'Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country."

Such was General RICHARD MONTGOMERY; a name that we have cause to remember with pride, not unmingled with regret at his early but honorable death. Had he lived, he would have stood among the first of our military leaders, our patriots, and our statesmen. Many, it is true, have blamed him for rashness, in hazarding an attack on Quebec with so small a force. But what could he have done? abandon the project after all the expense and labor it had cost, without an effort, would, probably, have subjected him to still severer condemnation, even from the same persons who now censure him. Both his country's honor and his own reputation impelled him forward. To have kept his men together among the ravages of the small-pox, and encamped in open fields of snow, would have been impossible; the only alternative was an attempt to take the city by assault. Alas, it failed; had it succeeded, all men would have praised both the conception and its execution. When men cannot command success, they ought not to be blamed for the failure of noble intentions; and but for the unhappy sudden fall of Montgomery the fate of the day might have been very different. All that a man could do in his circumstances was accomplished, and he died with a character unsullied by a single stain, and a heart true to virtue and honor. He was marked for his benevolence, his eloquence, and his courage. 6





towns to Ar Imore from a Minature by Malbone

MAJOR GENERAL

THE COURT OF THE PROPERTY OF T

Charles Jotesworth Finckney





CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

"For these are the men, that when they have played their parts and had their exits, must step out, and give the moral of their scenes: and deliver unto posterity an inventory of their virtues and vices."

SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

GENERAL CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY was one of that race, or order of men, who are now nearly, if not quite, extinct in South Carolina. He lived at that fortunate period when a classical and highly-finished education was deemed indispensable, not only for him who had his own fortune to build up, but also for him who had a fortune to spend. The direct trade between the Mother country and the Province, created by the valuable staple products of Rice and Indigo, put it in the power of the planters of South Carolina to send their sons to England with remarkable facility. In proportion, therefore, to population and extent of territory, the number of her young men educated in the English universities far exceeded that of any other of the Colonies. Thus, at the very commencement of our disputes with the Mother country she possessed a band of learned, intelligent, and accomplished gentlemen, fit either for the council or the field; and whose knowledge of the true principles of constitutional liberty gave that high tone to public sentiment, which mainly contributed to bear the people triumphant through that terrible period, which was truly and emphatically said to have "tried men's souls." Among those patriotic men, the subject of this memoir stood in the very first rank; and we shall now attempt to give a brief sketch of his life, which was long, useful, and honorable to his country.

The ancestor of General PINCKNEY came over to South Carolina in the year 1692. From him descended Charles, commonly known by the name of Chief Justice Pinckney, a man of great integrity, and of considerable eminence under the Provincial government. The Chief Justice was twice married. His second wife was Eliza Lucas, daughter of George Lucas, a Colonel in the British vol. IV—4

army and Governor of Antigua; and on the 25th day of February, 1746, she gave birth to General Pincknev at Charleston. In the year 1753, being then seven years old, he was taken over to England by his father, with his brother, the late Major-general Thomas Pinckney. The Chief Justice was one of those sensible men who valued education and moral discipline as far beyond the mere advantages of wealth, and he resolved, even though it might impair the patrimony of his sons, to buy it for them at the highest cost. Accordingly, in his will he enjoins that they shall be thoroughly educated before returning to America; and that in case the income of his estate proved inadequate, a portion of the estate itself must be sold to accomplish

this great object of his parental solicitude.

After five years of private tuition, General PINCKNEY was considered as well fitted for Westminster, and in 1758 he was placed by his father at that celebrated school, then under the care of a very distinguished scholar, Doctor Markham, who was afterwards advanced to the See of York. There his industry and good conduct won the esteem of the master; while he there, too, imbibed that classical taste and love of study, which, during an unusually long and eventful life, That he stood high in constituted both its ornament and its solace. the estimation of the master, may be inferred from the following fact. An occurrence in the school having, on investigation, produced much contradictory evidence, Doctor Markham, addressing young Pinck-NEY, said, "I know the strictness of your principles and your attachment to truth: speak, PINCKNEY! my decision shall be guided by your sentiment." From Westminster he was removed, in due course, to Christ Church, Oxford, where he had the acute Doctor Cyril Jackson as his private tutor. Judge Blackstone was then the Law lecturer; and as the best evidence of General PINCKNEY's attention and assiduity to that branch of his studies, he has left behind him four large volumes of manuscript, containing those celebrated lectures, which, with a diligence extraordinary in so young a man, he had written down at the time. With so much application and perseverance, knowledge could not be wooed in vain; and he consequently left Oxford with the reputation of being a fine scholar at the early age of eighteen. From that ancient university he entered as a law student at the Temple, where, having done something more than eat the usual number of dinners, he returned to South Carolina in 1769, having, during the last year, visited France and Germany, and devoting nine months to military studies at the Royal Academy of Caen in Normandy.

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Sixteen years of absence had not impaired, or in the slightest degree weakened, his affection for his native soil. While in England he had keenly participated in the indignation felt at the passage of the Stamp Act; and a portrait taken of him at that time for his friend Sir Matthew Ridley, represents him in the act of arguing vehemently against that arbitrary measure. It has been declared by his contemporaries, that on his return from England he appeared before them at once as a remarkable young man. His elegant literary attainment—his sound legal knowledge—his high sense of all that was held honorable in the eyes of men, united to the most distinguished manners, impressed on those who knew him the certainty of his future success and elevation.

His commission to practise in the Provincial Courts is dated January 19th, 1770, and he very soon began to acquire business and reputation. It is worthy of notice, as showing the estimation in which he was held by his legal brethren, that he was appointed by Sir Egerton Lee, (his Majesty's Attorney General of the Province,) under a full and formal commission, to act as his substitute on Circuit in the District and Precinct courts of Camden, Georgetown, and Cheraws. This was in 1773, when General PINCKNEY was still a young man: and when we consider the high estimate of their profession by the English lawyers of that day, most of them being not only men of learning and accomplishments, but likewise of high birth and descent, this appointment may be taken as evidence of extraordinary merit. His professional pursuits, with all its emoluments and the expectation of its high reward, was, however, doomed to a sudden blight. gathering storm of the Revolutionary war burst on the plains of Lexington. It struck on the ear of the patriots of South Carolina, and they at once resolved to prepare for that bloody and unnatural conflict with England, which was now seen to be inevitable.

Accordingly a meeting of the Provincial Congress was summoned by the Committee of Safety to be held in the city of Charleston. It assembled on the first day of June, 1775, and it was almost instantly decided to raise two regiments of infantry, of five hundred men each. The military ardor at this moment was so great, that the first families of the Province eagerly contended for appointments, and the number of candidates far exceeded the demand. In the midst of this band of gallant spirits, the abilities of General Pinckney were seen and acknowledged, and he was elected captain in the first regiment, appearing highest on the list. His Colonel was that firm republican, old Christopher Gadsden. He immediately proceeded on the re-

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cruiting service, and fixed his quarters at Newbern in North Carolina. Whilst there, he proved his discernment and intrepidity of purpose, by advising the arrest of two suspicious persons, who came under the assumed garb of settlers. Their personal appearance and easy address convinced him that they were not what they would seem to be. He waited on the Committee of Public Safety, and having declared his reasons for believing that the strangers were hostile to the interests of the country, recommended their instant arrest. Unfortunately, the members of the Committee were timid, and refused to follow his advice. The event proved the soundness of his judgment. The strangers left Newbern for Cross Creek, and almost immediately excited the Scotch settlers, their countrymen, to arm in support of the Royal Government. General Moore was sent against them, and they were defeated. The younger of the strangers escaped; his name was McDonald. The other, who proved to be a veteran officer, of the name of McLeod, was killed. Having completed the recruiting service, he joined his regiment in Charleston, which was soon after placed on the Continental establishment by a resolution of Congress. In a short time General PINCKNEY obtained the command of the first regiment—its Colonel, Christopher Gadsden, be ing made a Brigadier, and its Lieutenant-Colonel and Major having been transferred to the command of other regiments.

The glorious defence of Fort Moultrie, and the signal defeat of the British fleet in its attack on that post, gave a calm, and long respite to the people of South Carolina from the horrors of war. The power of England then bore heavily on the States of New-York and Pennsylvania. Burning with ardor to distinguish himself in the field, General PINCKNEY hastened to join the Northern army. He was cordially received by General Washington, who appointed him an aid-de-camp; and in this capacity he was present at the battle of Brandywine, and the bloody affair at Germantown. The impression then made by him on the mind of the Commander-in-chief was of the most durable kind. It was exhibited throughout many years of friendship and of confidence, and on many interesting occasions, and only ceased with life itself. To one of his quick and energetic spirit, the opportunity which he now possessed of increasing his military knowledge, both as to science and discipline, it is reasonable to suppose was not allowed to escape unimproved.

On the first intimation of danger to the South, General PINCKNEY returned to take the command of his regiment. The State of Georgia about this period was greatly harassed by Tories, and repeated

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inroads of vagabonds from Florida. It was indispensable to make an effort to save her from total ruin. Major-general Howe, of North Carolina, who commanded the Southern Division, required the aid of the South Carolina forces, and General PINCKNEY was ordered on to join Howe in Georgia. This service was short, but severe. The army had to move about, and drive the enemy at a season of the year when exposure to the climate was sure to produce sickness, if not death. The soldiers were wretchedly provided, not only as to camp equipage, but even as to food. In a letter written at Fort Howe on the Altamaha, addressed to General Moultrie at Charleston, General PINCKNEY describes the sufferings of the men as almost intolerable. Ten and twelve were crowded into one small tent, and many were left uncovered, to sleep under the heavy and deadly dews of the Georgia skies. The Continental troops, which, at the beginning, counted eleven hundred strong, were in the course of two months reduced to only three hundred and fifty men fit for duty. About midsummer General PINCKNEY got back to Charleston, after three months of the hardest service, rendered more acute by the reflection, that disease, and not the weapons of their enemies, had destroyed his soldiers. The sudden dash of Provost at Charleston, the subsequent invasion of Georgia, and the assault on the lines of Savannah, all contributed to bring out into bold relief General PINCKNEY's fine qualities as a soldier. In the language of a brother officer, "his patient submission to the severities of service, his determined resolution and calm intrepidity, gave decided increase to his military reputation."

The campaigns of 1778 and '79, in the North, having reflected but little lustre on the British arms, Sir Henry Clinton consoled himself with the idea of making easy and brilliant conquests in the Southern and weaker States. Accordingly he prepared and fitted out a very powerful land and naval force for the capture of Charleston. The Royal army, in great strength, on the 11th of February, 1780, landed about thirty miles from the city. So feeble was the garrison at that moment, that, had the British army pushed on immediately to the city, it must have fallen almost without a blow; but Sir Henry Clinton preferred the slow method of a siege. The six Continental regiments in the Carolina establishment were at this time reduced to eight hundred men. The North Carolina and Virginia Continentals, about fifteen hundred strong, were ordered on by Congress: but of this number not more than seven hundred entered the city. Nevertheless, with this feeble garrison, and besieged both by land and water, it was

unanimously determined, in a full house of assembly, to defend the town to the last extremity.

General PINCKNEY at this critical period, with three hundred men, was stationed in command at Fort Moultrie. It was a post of honor, and his heart must have throbbed with exultation as he thought of Moultrie's victory in June, '76; and that now fortune had brought him his turn, either to show the flag of his country waving in triumph, or to make it his winding-sheet. But his eager anticipations were disappointed. The British admiral Arbuthnot, taking advantage of a strong southerly wind and flood tide, swept rapidly by Fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it.

General PINCKNEY, however, opened a heavy and brisk fire on the ships as they passed under full sail, by which they received considerable damage, and twenty seamen were killed and wounded. Determined to share the fate of Charleston, he soon afterwards withdrew with a part of his garrison, and entered the city. A council of war was assembled for the purpose of deliberating on a capitulation, and it was then that General PINCKNEY displayed that boldness and decision of mind which belongs only to a man of great character. Rising with great composure and dignity of manner, he exclaimed, "I will not say, if the enemy attempt to carry our lines by storm, that we shall be able to resist them successfully: but am convinced we shall so cripple the army before us, that although we may not live to enjoy the benefits ourselves, yet to the United States they will prove incalculably great. Considerations of self are out of the question. They cannot influence any member of this council. My voice is for rejecting all terms of capitulation, and for continuing hostilities to the last extremity." This magnanimous proposition, although supported by Lieut. Colonel Laurens, was not adopted.

Charleston finally capitulated in May 1780, after a close investiture both by land and water of three months. General Pinckney was then removed to Haddrel's Point, about two miles from the city, with a large number of other prisoners. At this post they bore incredible privations. Without clothing, credit, or money, their sufferings became so extreme, that the Continental officers of the South Carolina and Georgia lines appointed General Pinckney to draw a memorial to Congress describing their condition. It is stated in this paper, that during their long captivity they had never received more than nine days' pay from their country.

The well-known influence of General PINCKNEY—his abilities—his zeal in the cause of liberty, and the boldness displayed in main

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taining his principles, made him in a peculiar degree the object of British severity. After enduring an obstinate intermittent fever for several months, he was at last allowed by the Commandant of Charleston, to come over to the city, on the declaration of the British physician, Doctor McNamara Hayes, that it was indispensable for the restoration of his health. Yet, four days after the permission had been granted, the same officer suddenly ordered him to return to Haddrel's Point, although his only son was at that instant lying dead in the house; and he was forced to compliance.

Nothing, however, could shake the firmness of his soul—oppression might drive the iron into it, but could not weaken its integrity. Threats and temptations were alternately used, but in vain. To Major Money of the British army, he wrote in the following bold and eloquent strain. "I entered into this cause after reflection, and through principle. My heart is altogether American, and neither severity, nor favor, nor poverty, nor affluence, can ever induce me to swerve from it." To Captain McMahon, another British officer, he emphatically says, "The freedom and independence of my country are the gods of my idolatry."

It was during this period that the discussion between Major Barry, of the British army, and himself occurred on some points relating to the exchange of prisoners. Barry having quoted Grotius in support of his side of the question, General Pinckney promptly declared, that the opinions of that great jurist were in direct opposition to what had been stated. Reference was made to the author, when Major Barry was obliged to confess his error, lamenting "that he had not

studied the passage with his usual accuracy."

At length he received the intelligence of his exchange, when it was too late to be of much value to him, in a letter from General McIntosh, dated at Philadelphia, 19th February, 1782. The war was then really at an end by the capture of Lord Cornwallis. Soon after he was raised to brevet rank as Brigadier; his commission is dated at Princeton, 1783, General Lincoln then acting as Secretary at War. On the return of peace, General Pinckney resumed the practice of law, his fortune having been much impaired. Time and casualties had swept away most of the old and learned members of the bar. He found in their place a new set of young men, clever, but of imperfect education—the war having broken the regular course of study. He, with a few more, might have ruled as monarchs of the bar; but his generous spirit disdained to profit by the weakness of others. He preferred to introduce a simple, liberal, and intelligible mode of prac-

tice, stripping off all useless subtleties and technical rules, and endeavoured to make the profession what it should be, enlightened and honorable in the eyes of the community. His business was large, and its profits commensurate,-reaching in one year the amount of four thousand guineas, a considerable sum for that day. A nice sense of honor made him discriminate in his cases, and it was not every one that offered, that he would take. He never forgot the injunction of his venerable father, to which his own generous heart involuntarily responded, to be the friend of the widow and the fatherless. From these he never would take compensation; and he carried into his profession the spirit of chivalry itself, which he exhibited on one remarkable occasion, and to which the writer of this sketch is not at liberty to do more than to allude. During this period he was more than once solicited by General Washington to enter into his cabinet. He was offered a place on the Supreme Bench; then the post of Secretary at War, as the successor of General Knox; afterwards that of Secretary of State, on the removal of Mr. Randolph. He steadily and consistently, for reasons satisfactory to his own mind, declined these honors, and stated finally in reply, "That whenever the President should call him to the performance of any public duty, to which private considerations ought to yield, and should say to him 'that he must accept,' all private obligations should cease."

This pledge he redeemed by accepting the mission to France, which General Washington, in a letter from Mount Vernon, July 8th, 1796, pressed on him in language that did honor to both. On this occasion his characteristic energy and decision was manifested. In a very few days after having notified his acceptance of the appointment, he embarked for Philadelphia and thence for Bordeaux. He arrived in Paris the 5th day of December; but on the way had to submit to the national welcome of the Poissardes, who, a post and a half from the city, stopped his carriage, and opening the door, insisted on the American ambassador's giving them the fraternal embrace.

On the next day he transmitted, by his Secretary of Legation, Major Henry Rutledge, to Mr. Monroe, his letters of recal; and a few days afterwards made his first and only visit to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur De La Croix, whose reception of him was cold and inauspicious.

The Directory had already determined not to receive him as minister of the United States, and accordingly Monsieur De La Croix addressed a note to Mr. Monroe, with whom the French government was still in correspondence, in these terms:—"The Directory has

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charged me to notify you, that it will not acknowledge nor receive another Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States until after the redress of the grievances demanded of the American government." This official insult, which must have been galling in the extreme, was borne with a serenity and dignity of mind that proved him fit to be an ambassador.

General Pinckney's sound judgment warned him, that on the very threshold of his embassy, prudence and duty both required that he should show the temper of forbearance. The interests of his country, her attachment, and proper feeling of gratitude towards an ancient ally, whose powerful arm had stretched across the Atlantic, and supported her in the dark hour of trial—all united to impress upon him the strongest disposition for peace. The moment had not yet arrived for him to vindicate his own high courage and the American people, in that noble sentiment which afterwards burst from his lips, and has become familiar as our household words.

"MILLIONS FOR DEFENCE, NOT A CENT FOR TRIBUTE."

The position of General PINCKNEY in the French capital was critical, and was well calculated to fill him with anxiety. He thus speaks of it in a letter to Colonel Pickering—"My situation, as you may easily conceive, is unpleasant; but if I can ultimately render any services to my country, I shall be fully compensated: at all events it shall be my study to avoid increasing the discontent of this government, without committing the honor, dignity, and respect, due to my own."

On the 5th of February, after being two months in Paris, he left it by an order from the Directory, having, by his patience and firmness, finally compelled them to address a note to himself, of which the following is an extract:—"Le Directoire executif Monsieur m'a chargé de vous faire savoir que n'ayant point obtenu de permission particulier, pour resider à Paris vous etes soumis à la loi qui oblige les etrangers à quitter le territoire de la Republique."

DE LA CROIX.

General PINCKNEY having obtained what he desired in this peremptory mandate, immediately left the territory of France, and retired to Holland to await the instructions of the American government. President Washington empowered Judge Marshall and Elbridge Gerry to join General PINCKNEY in Holland, and forthwith proceed with him to Paris; and there, as Envoys Extraordinary, endeavor to settle all existing difficulties. Success did not follow this new and sincere effort towards reconciliation. Our limits forbid enlarging on

this portion of General Pinckney's diplomatic career. It is sufficient to remark, that it was satisfactory to the government and the country. His colleague, General Marshall, and himself, returned to the United States, leaving Mr. Gerry in France, who, as it appears from the correspondence of the day, was persuaded to this step by citizen Talleyrand, for the purpose of conducting a separate negotiation between the two nations. President Adams, however, did not sanction this conduct on the part of Gerry, and he received a positive letter of recal from the Secretary of State, dated Jan. 25, 1798.

The spirit of the nation was now justly excited, and when General Pinckney arrived in America, he found the tone of public sentiment strong for hostilities. On the 12th of October, 1798, he landed at Paulus Hook, where he was received by a large concourse of citizens, who greeted him with enthusiastic cheers. The yellow fever was then raging in New-York, and he was compelled to proceed to the town of Newark with his family. He there received a letter from James McHenry, dated October 17th, 1798, enclosing his commission as a Major-general in the army of the United States, which was being put on the war establishment. It contained the following well-merited and just compliment to his patriotism: "The readiness you have expressed to accept of your appointment, after so long an absence from home and your private affairs, is extremely satisfactory; and will, I am sure, be fully estimated by the President and your country."

When President Adams appointed Washington to the command of the army, he also left to his judgment the selection of the other superior officers. The appointment, therefore, of General Pinckney is another strong proof of the continued friendship and confidence of Washington in his patriotism and abilities. The relative rank of the Major-generals stood thus: Washington—Alexander Hamilton—Charles Cotesworth Pinckney—Henry Knox. Hamilton, during the war of the Revolution, was the junior of General Pinckney. This circumstance being pointed out to him by a gentleman of his acquaintance, who laid much stress on the injustice and partiality of this preference, General Pinckney gave this memorable reply, worthy of a Themistocles or a Scipio:—"I am confident that General Washington had sufficient reasons for this preference. Let us first dispose of our enemies, we shall then have leisure to settle the question of rank."

Hostilities did not break out, and he once more retired to the calm and elegant enjoyments of a home, of which his social powers and polished manners formed one of the most graceful ornaments.

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It is fact well understood, that if General PINCKNEY, in the year 1800, when the great struggle of parties happened, could have consented to unite his name with that of Mr. Jefferson, he would have been either President or Vice President of the United States. But, true to himself, true to his principles, consistent in all things, he would not, even to win the first office in the gift of the people, and gratify the inclination of his native State, agree to a measure that might seem to compromise his integrity. General Pinckney was a member of the enlightened assembly that formed the Constitution of the United States. Again his was one of the leading minds in the State Convention that framed the Constitution of 1790.

In the South Carolina State Convention of 1778 he exhibited not only very vigorous, but likewise liberal powers of mind. He forcibly and successfully sustained, in that convention, a proposition of the Rev. William Tennant to secure liberty and equality to all Protestant sects; and as he was a strict Episcopalian, it is but just to infer that he acted or argued from conviction, and not indifference. The uniform respect with which he treated the clergy of all denominations endeared him to them; and is evinced in the fact, that Christians of every sect united in choosing him the first President of the Bible Society of Charleston, and they continued him in that honorable station for fifteen years, to the period of his death.

General PINCKNEY was a considerable landholder in the city of Charleston. He had numerous tenants living on his property, and to all of them he was forbearing and compassionate; often submitting to the loss of his just dues rather than resort to the rigors of the law. Indeed, his benevolence was of the most enlarged character, and was experienced not only by the poor, and such as were dependent on him, but in his liberal support of churches, seminaries of learning, and every object of public utility. His hospitality was unbounded, and was of that princely sort, that it did honor to South Carolina. How many foreigners, how many Americans, are now living to whom such a reminiscence ought to be familiar? His conversation was singularly instructive and amusing, for he had both seen and thought much; and the ease and frankness of his manners invited the approach of all who chose to participate in its pleasures. His own library was extensive; but the valuable collection of his father, together with many manuscripts and interesting family documents, were burnt by the army of General Provost at a country-seat near Charleston, at the time of his forced march on the city—a loss which General PINCK-NEY oftentimes lamented. His appetite for reading was great. No-

thing in the shape of a book escaped his attention. He read from the moment he arose in the morning; that is, a page or a few sentences at a time, while he walked about his chamber and dressed; his intellect was constantly exercised.

General PINCKNEY, as he advanced in life, applied himself to the sciences-Chemistry and Botany became his favorite pursuits; and such was his thirst for knowledge, that, while on his embassy to France, he seized that opportunity of listening to the lectures of the celebrated Fourcroy. At his country residence (Pinckney Island, a most enchanting spot) he had an apartment fitted up as a laboratory, containing an excellent Philosophical apparatus; and there he amused himself during several hours of every morning in winter.

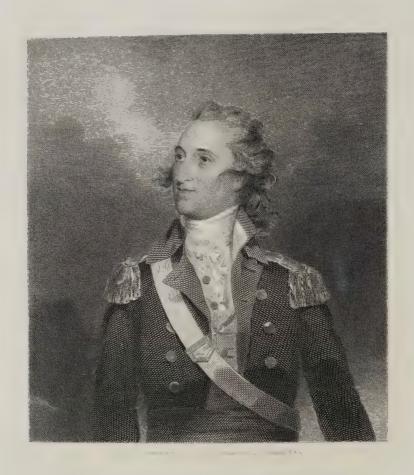
In person General PINCKNEY did not exceed the ordinary stature His form was round, muscular, and closely knit; and admirably constructed for exercise and durability. His countenance was marked, and highly expressive of almost every variety of emotion; but in repose, particularly towards the close of his life, it wore the character of majesty; and no one could look upon it without feeling

the inspiration of the profoundest veneration.

If the eye, as has been beautifully said, be the mirror of the soul, in his might have been clearly read—courage—benevolence—honor truth; and, indeed, all these were the predominant qualities illustrated in his life. No man ever enjoyed in a higher degree the confidence of his fellow-citizens. His acknowledged gallantry of spirit—his disdain of all selfish, narrow, and dishonorable conduct-his public and private munificence—his readiness at all times to maintain the common-weal, and those great principles of constitutional liberty for which he had fought and suffered so much, endeared him to all men; and during the bitter conflicts of party, like the bright and impenetrable helmet of Minerva, preserved his head from every hostile touch.

Such is the brief and imperfect narrative of the career of this wise and virtuous man, who was honored in his generation, and is now gratefully remembered by posterity. General Pinckney was twice married. His first wife was Sarah, daughter of Henry Middleton, second President of Congress. Of this marriage three daughters survived him. The second wife was a descendant of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, one of the Proprietory Governors of South Carolina. died without children. General PINCKNEY expired in Charleston on the 16th August 1825, with the fortitude of a Christian philosopher. in his eightieth year.





Thomas Finckney





THOMAS PINCKNEY.

The early years of Major-general Thomas Pinckney were passed with his brother, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the subject of a future sketch; and, in addition to the facts which will be found imbodied in that memoir, it is now only necessary to say, that Thomas was born at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23d of October, 1750; and consequently was only three years old when taken to England by his father. Like his brother, he made good use of his time and opportunities for improvement, and after nearly twenty years of absence returned to his native land full of patriotic ardor.

He was still engaged in his professional studies in London, when the first notes of hostile preparation against his country were sounded; he immediately abandoned all other pursuits, and devoted his whole attention to the acquisition of military knowledge, by which he afterward distinguished himself in the Revolutionary army. His military services were put in requisition very soon after his return to Charleston; and according to the statement of Major Garden, the rudiments of discipline were first taught by him to the infantry of the South Carolina line. On the formation of the two Provincial regiments in 1775, he was appointed to the command of a company, and soon after rose to the rank of Major. He had the reputation of an able tactician and a rigid disciplinarian. Of his firmness and decision of character, he gave the following very unequivocal proof. an early period of the war, a mutiny having broken out in his regiment, the officers attempted to suppress it by persuasion and remon strance, which were succeeded by upbraidings and menaces. PINCKNEY walked deliberately into the midst of the mutineers, and with his sabre cut down the ringleader. Order and subordination were immediately restored.

When General Lincoln took command of the Southern army, Major Pinckney was appointed one of his aids, and acted in that capacity with the Count D'Estaing at the siege of Savannah. At the

attack on the enemy's works at Stono, in June, 1779, Major Pinck-NEY gained great applause for his gallant conduct in the field, where the battalion, to which he was attached, charged two companies of the 71st British regiment, and so completely routed them at the point of the bayonet, that only nine men were able to take shelter within their lines. At the siege of Savannah, while superintending the construction of a redoubt, a shell from the enemy fell into the ditch and burst. Major PINCKNEY and Colonel D'Oyley were blinded with dust and covered with dirt; but the Major, without changing his position, or being in the least discomposed, calmly observed, "I think, D'Oyley, that must have been very near us," and then continued to press on the work with great animation. When the assault on the town was determined on, Major PINCKNEY led one of the assailing columns, but was repulsed. Great confusion among the troops ensued, and all, who could, pressed forward to avoid the destructive fire that poured upon their rear. Major PINCKNEY hastened to the front of his soldiers, and commanded them to halt. "Success, my brave fellows," he exclaimed, "though richly merited, has not crowned your exertions; vet do not disgrace yourselves by precipitate flight, and, though repulsed, quit the field like soldiers." Order was restored, and the regiment regained their encampment with deliberate steps.

At the disastrous battle of Camden on the 16th of August, 1780. Major Pinckney, acting as Aid-de-camp to General Gates, had his leg shattered by a musket ball, and fell into the hands of the enemy. When sufficiently recovered to be removed, he was sent as a prisoner

of war to Philadelphia.

In 1787 he succeeded General Moultrie as Governor of South Carolina, and was eminently successful in re-establishing the authority of the laws, which had been in a great measure dormant during the war.

He received from President Washington, in 1792, the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James. The duties which devolved upon him during his residence in London were attended with circumstances which required the exercise of great delicacy and prudence, with vigilance and firmness. It will be recollected, that at that time some of the provisions of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States remained unfulfilled. The war which arose out of the French Revolution, and very soon involved nearly all the European powers, exposed the commerce of the Union to many embarrassments from the belligerents, who strove to injure and annoy each other without regard to the rights of neu-

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

tral nations. The neutrality of the United States was regarded with jealousy by each of the great contending powers. Neutrality, indeed, was offensive to both, and each strove to involve our country in the war. But it was the settled policy of Washington's administration to preserve a strict neutrality, and to favor neither of the belligerents. There was an undoubted inclination, however, on the part of a majority of the people of the United States, to arrange themselves on the side of France; and the British government soon became aware of that fact, and adapted their measures to the expected result, which their power on the ocean enabled them to render exceedingly vexatious. France being unable any longer to import the productions of her colonies in her own ships, the carrying trade on the Atlantic chiefly fell into the hands of the American merchants; but that was very soon interfered with by the orders of the British government to their cruisers. The practice of impressing men from American ships for the British navy, began also, about this time, to be a cause of serious complaint; and a renewal of hostilities seemed inevitable. But the conduct of Republican France was equally unfriendly and offensive; and, considering the probable tendency of her great adversary's measures, far more impolitic. Still the President remained firm in his purpose of maintaining the neutrality of the United States until the aggressions of foreign powers should clearly render neutrality incompatible with honor. He therefore determined to make one more effort with each of the great contending powers, that should either remove all cause of quarrel or demonstrate the necessity of war. He accordingly communicated to the Senate of the United States the despatches, which, in the beginning of the year 1794, had been received from Major PINCKNEY at London, and on the 16th of April nominated Mr. Jay as Envoy Extraordinary to his Britannic Maiestv.

While Major PINCKNEY was Minister at London, he was instructed to seize every proper occasion to express the interest taken by the President in the fate of La Fayette, who was then a prisoner in Germany; but his unofficial communications to the Austrian Minister in London, and his endeavors to obtain the mediation of the British government, were alike unavailing.

In November of the same year, Major PINCKNEY was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to his Catholic Majesty, and repaired, in the Summer of 1795, to Madrid. On the 20th of October following, he concluded a treaty, which settled the controversy with Spain respecting boundary, and secured the free navigation of the Mississippi. In

the following year his private affairs requiring his presence at home, he was recalled at his own solicitation, and returned to Carolina; where he was received with the most grateful evidences of the regard and affection of his fellow-citizens. He afterward served a few sessions in Congress, as a representative from Charleston district, and

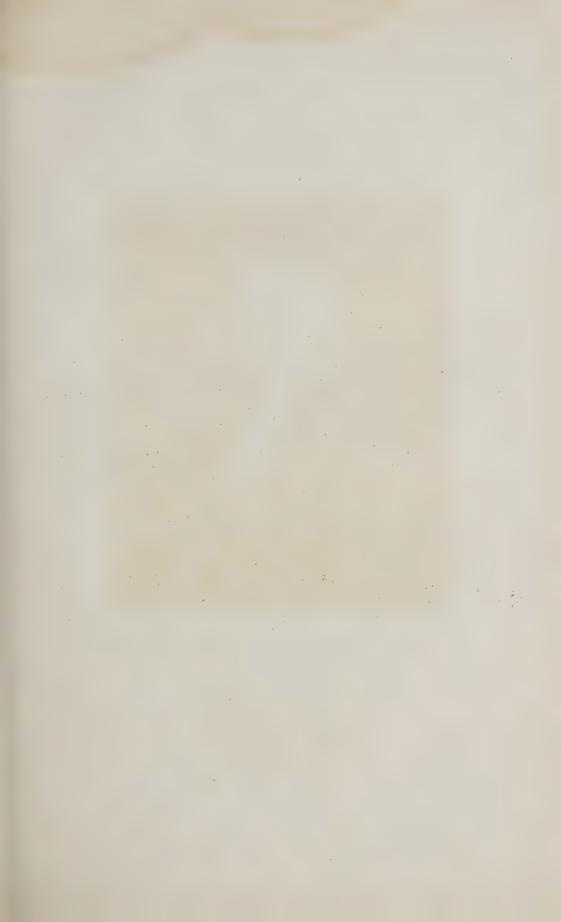
then retired to private life.

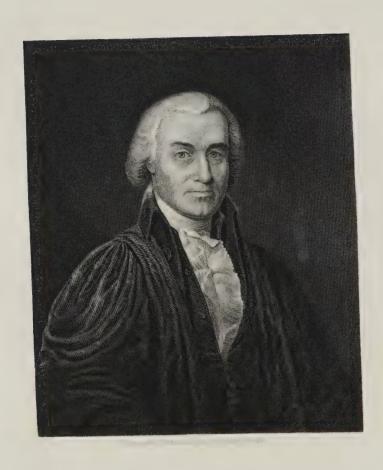
When the despatches from our envoys to France in 1798 reached this country, detailing the hostility of the Directory, and the humiliating proposition of tribute, and the indignities which had been offered to Generals C. C. Pinckney and Marshall, and Mr. Gerry; President Adams proposed to prevent their immediate publication, lest further insults might follow, as those gentlemen were still in Paris. But on consulting Major Pinckney, he gave a decided opinion that they ought to be made public without delay, that the people might have a perfect knowledge of the insulting conduct of the French Directory. "And, Sir," he added, "if the situation of my brother causes you to hesitate, I speak for him, as I know he would for me, were I similarly circumstanced. The glory of our country is at stake. Individual sufferings must not be regarded. Be the event what it may, life is nothing compared with the honor of America."

After the lapse of several years, which had been devoted to the education of his children and the improvement of his estate, the veteran was once more called by his country to the field. At the commencement of the war of 1812, President Madison appointed him to the command of the Southern army. It was under his command that the Indian war, in which General Jackson distinguished himself, was undertaken and successfully terminated. He very early discerned the talents of General Jackson, and recommended him to the War department for the command of a separate district, to be formed out of his own, which extended from North Carolina to the Mississippi, and which he considered entirely too large for one command. By thus opening a field for the free exercise of the skill and enterprise of General Jackson, he advanced the interest and honor of his country, and the war was closed by one of the most brilliant victories that adorn the annals of any nation.

On the return of peace he resigned his commission, and declined all further public employment. From that period his attention was given to various scientific improvements in agriculture, and to the cultivation of social intercourse amongst a very extensive circle of relatives and friends. He died on the 2d of November, 1828, after a

lingering and painful illness.





Phi Ellsworth





OLIVER ELLSWORTH, LL. D.

No country has been so distinguished as our own by the number and prominence of its self-made men. In science, they have been her pioneers, disarming even the lightning of its terror; in prosperity, they have been the guardians of her dearest treasures; in the hour of danger they have gathered, as the Macedonian phalanx, to her side

The subject of this memoir was not born in obscurity, or compelled to struggle with poverty and ignorance on his passage to renown. Yet he was strictly of that number who, in the "baptism of fame, have given themselves their own name;" and for whom industry and internal resource have stood in the place of parentage and of patrimony.

He sprang, as have many of our mightiest and noblest, from the hardy yeomanry of New England. If he was indebted to education for his greatness, he was still more indebted to patient labor; as the firmly-rooted oak owes less to culture, than to its power of enduring those changes of climate which roughen its trunk but reveal its energy.

OLIVER Ellsworth was born in Windsor, one of the most anciently settled towns in Connecticut, on the 29th of April, 1745, of respectable parents, inured to the pursuits of agriculture. From them he derived the virtues of industry, economy, and integrity, which were incorporated with the elements of his character. He derived also physical benefits from a system of nurture which rejected all luxurious indulgence. Of him it might be said, as it was of Chief Justice Marshall, that "his health was invigorated by the athletic exercises to which his father inured him." Perhaps, also, from some sternness of parental discipline, which was often a feature of these early times, his mind drew a portion of its Spartan firmness. His boyhood was so divided between agricultural toils and classical studies, as to impress the invaluable lessons of the worth of time and the necessity of application.

At the age of seventeen he entered Yale College, whence he after wards removed to Princeton, and received there his honorary degree at the completion of his twenty-first year. It is not known that his academic course exhibited any remarkable superiority. Precocity was The slow ripening of its powers betokened not a feature of his mind.

a deep root and long-continued harvest.

After terminating his collegiate studies, he engaged in the instruction of youth, that most honorable employment to which so many of our greatest men have for a time devoted themselves. Though sur rounded by gay companions, he was enabled to resist their influence, and make choice of that piety which was to be his guide on the slippery heights of honor, and his strength amid the feebleness of hoary hairs. It laid its strong foundation at that momentous period when youth is most tempted to contend with the restrictions of morality and to forget God. His clear-sighted and majestic mind acknowledged the truth of revelation, and humbled itself at the foot of the cross with child-like simplicity. His public profession of a Christian's faith, made when religion was less fashionable than it is at present, gave proof of that fearless integrity in duty which is an element of true greatness. He had a predilection for Theology, and made respectable progress in its preparatory studies; but ultimately decided on the profession of law.

His marriage was early in life, and the result of mutual attachment. The lady, who was of the highly-respected family of the Wolcotts, by her unwearied and judicious attention to domestic care, left his mind at liberty for higher departments. They became the parents of nine children, six of whom survived him, connected with the aristocra-

cy of their native State.

At the commencement of his household establishment, he found himself thrown upon his own resources. A farm of wild land in the parish of Wintonbury, and an axe, were the gifts of his father, with the understanding that they completed his full moiety of the paternal estate. But as the shield given by the Spartan mothers to their sons, with the charge, "return with it or return upon it," enkindled an indomitable courage; so the consciousness of entire self-dependence awoke a spirit which was to conquer all obstacles. In those rough preliminary toils, by which land is cleared and subjected to cultivation, he performed the service of a day-laborer, and at night pursued those studies by which his future eminence was to be attained. The materials with which the fences of his farm were to be constructed he wrought with his own hands from the trees that grew upon it, nor re-

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

mitted this branch of labor until it was completely enclosed. With hands swollen by unaccustomed effort, and painful from the wounds of thorns with which he contended, he came every morning during the session of the courts, to Hartford, returning at night to take charge of his cattle, and to sustain the imperative duties of an agriculturist. In this union of differing and difficult professions he evinced great mental vigor and physical endurance. It is impossible to view the future Chief Justice of the United States at this period of his existence without peculiar and touching interest. At dawn, like Cincinnatus, at his plough, and at eve laying his hand on the mighty fabric of jurisprudence, as if, like the chosen people, he followed the "pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night."

It would seem that no ambition of distinction had at this time stimulated his career. Perhaps his mind was not fully aware of its own Herculean powers. Its moving principle had been the simple consciousness of duty,—a desire to provide for a growing family, and to be found faithful in the stewardship of entrusted time and talents.

During a period of extreme exertion, while sustaining a difficult cause at the bar in Hartford, he received a new incentive—the voice of praise. "Who is that young man? He speaks well." These were the words of a stranger. They sank into his heart. As he went homeward, he ruminated upon them. "He speaks well." It was a new idea to him. Vanity was not inherent to an intellect of his order, but the sweetness of merited praise came when it began to be needed as an encouragement on its arduous course. Of this incident he spoke, even in his latest years, to his children. It would be interesting, were it possible to discover who thus touched with electric spark that mighty mind, and aided in developing its latent force.

The increase of his business imposed the necessity of a removal to Hartford. There he received the lucrative office of States' attorney, and was yearly elected representative to the general assembly. At the commencement of the war of the Revolution he took firm ground in favor of the independence of the country. He even went out with the militia of the county when incursions were made by the enemy into his native State. This he did, not from any complacency in military life, but to show his approbation of the cause for which resistance was hazarded. In 1777 he was chosen a delegate to Congress; in 1784 a Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut; and in 1789 a senator of the United States, under their new confederation. His talents as a man, and his learning as a jurist, were now put in strict requisition for the public good. The system of policy which he advocated was

dignified and consistent. Avoidance of useless expenditure, prompt execution of the laws, an open and severe simplicity, were its distinguishing features. The regimen that promotes the health of republics was well understood by him. It was the same which, as an indi-

vidual, he had pursued with safety and success.

His mind had the capacity of intense and stern application. Never was this more fully tested than during those seven years when he filled a seat in the senate of the United States. So deep was his love of country, that when any important point, involving her interests, was in discussion, he has been known to pass the whole night traversing his chamber, and repelling sleep, until he had possessed himself of the subject in all its bearings. With such forgetfulness of self did he tax his energies, that after the termination of such questions he would be left exhausted, as after some extreme physical exertion.

It was remarked, that from these labors in the senate his mind evidently gained breadth and expansion. As the period of his continuance there extended beyond his fiftieth year, an argument is thus obtained to disprove the theory that rigidity settles upon intellect as upon the muscles, and that age may limit its improvement as easily as to

chain the limbs from their elastic play.

In the spring of 1796 he received the appointment of Chief Justice of the United States. It was the universal suffrage of the nation that there was in him a fitness for the high honor of a place in that body, which, like the ancient Ephori, lifted the supremacy of the law above all other symbols of earthly majesty. In the discharge of the duties of this elevated station he displayed an immoveable patience, and a judgment of men and things matured by long experience. His clear conceptions of right and wrong were never confused by a heated imagination or morbid feelings. He was slow in arriving at the truth, but in his decisions inflexible. His impartiality won the confidence of all; and throughout his whole judicial career, his integrity remained untarnished and above suspicion.

It was with reluctance that the nation saw him about to be withdrawn from a post where she was hourly deriving benefits from his wisdom, to assume the office of ambassador to France. But a crisis in our political intercourse with that kingdom, involving danger of hostilities, required peculiar skill in negotiation, and he was appointed, in conjunction with Governor Davie of North Carolina, and the Hon. William V. Murray, then resident minister at the Hague. This was a nomination which he would not have desired; and though his patriotism induced him to acquiesce, it was at an expense of health from

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

which he never fully recovered. Physical infirmities, which before his departure had revealed themselves, became confirmed by the hardships of a protracted voyage and the fatigues of foreign travel, into incurable diseases.

It was at the close of the year 1799 that he took passage to Europe. He found the government of France, then under the consulship of Bonaparte, unsettled and fluctuating. Duplicity and intrigue gave coloring to its diplomacy. His upright mind, severe in rectitude, found there little congeniality. Its earnestness for the right, and its strict morality, were even marked as traits of imbecility, by a cabinet whose pole-star was expediency.

After concluding the business entrusted to him, he passed over into England, and experienced high gratification from a view of that glorious island, and an acquaintance with its illustrious men. He was accompanied on his travels in Europe by his eldest son, a promising youth, whose unremitting devotion to his collegiate studies had seriously impaired his health. It was difficult, even by the excitement and novelty of foreign cities, to divert his attention from books. He received, therefore, but slight benefit from change of scene; and his death, which took place soon after his return, while making trial of the more genial climate of the West Indies, was a deep affliction to the affectionate father.

An incident connected with his return from Europe, shows the place that religion habitually held in his soul. He had resigned the office of Chief Justice of the United States, that he might devote the remainder of his life to that retirement and domestic tranquillity from which he had been so long an exile. His arrival at his home was therefore anticipated with an eagerness proportioned to his long absence, and to the cheering hope of retaining him there. At his beautiful mansion in Windsor all was joyful expectancy. His children listened to the echo of every approaching wheel, and saddened at perceiving that it had not brought their father. At length his own carriage was indeed des-The whole family group hastened forth to welcome him. Wife, and son, and daughter, and servant born in his house, were there. It was a thrilling moment. The profound statesman, whose wealth and fame had been purchased by no sacrifice of virtue, wearied with those services which had rendered his name illustrious, was coming to share the repose of his native shades, and to be parted from them no more. He alighted from his carriage. But he spoke not to his wife. He returned not the embrace of his children. glanced not even at his twin boys, the youngest of that beloved circle

Leaning over his gate, and covering his face, he first silently breathed a prayer of gratitude to that Being who gave him once more to see his habitation in safety and in peace. He took not the full cup of joy that was pressed to his lips until it had been hallowed by devotion, until he had humbly, yet openly, acknowledged the God who had "led him

all his life long, to that day."

His resolution to abstain from all public service in future, he found it impossible perfectly to maintain. The urgent solicitations of the people, combining with a patriotism which never slumbered, induced him, in 1802, to accept the office of member of the Council of Connecticut, in which he continued till his death. In 1807 he received the appointment of Chief Justice of his native State; but his increas-

ing infirmities led him to decline the offered honor.

The leisure to which he had been for many years a stranger, enabled him to cultivate domestic enjoyment, and to recur, as an occasional amusement, to agricultural occupation. His ardent affections found delight in the society of his children. The love of children had always been one of his prominent traits of character. From the chicanery and selfishness of mankind, he turned with renewed pleasure to their simplicity. It was remarked of him in early life, that when deeply engaged in those absorbing studies which afterwards won for him fortune and renown, he daily spent some time in caressing his neighbor's children. He even seemed disappointed when any circumstance prevented this accustomed intercourse. Though there were long periods in which he was compelled to seclude himself from the pleasures of the domestic circle, yet he would sometimes permit his own little ones to enter his study when occupied in the severest toils of thought, and draw pictures for their amusement. "I like to indulge them in this way," he observed; "and when it is necessary to deny them, I send them to their mother."

As they advanced in age, their improvement, and the formation of their habits, were felt by him in their full importance. The incalculable worth of time, the duty of industry, the folly of extravagance, the necessity of rectitude and piety, were impressed both by precept and example. In his letters, when absent from them, his rules for conduct and principle were expressed with striking adaptation to their difference of age or character. His family letters, notwithstanding the magnitude and pressure of public business, were exhibitions of correct and beautiful chirography. In one of these, addressed to his wife, while a senator in the first Congress convened at New-York, in 1789, he

says :--

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

"The family in which I live have no white children. But I often amuse myself with a colored one about the size of our little daughter, who peeps into my door now and then, with a long story, which I cannot more than half understand. Our two sons I sometimes fancy that I pick out among the little boys playing at marbles in the street. Our eldest daughter is, I trust, alternately employed, between her book and her wheel. You must teach her what is useful, the world will teach her enough of what is not. The nameless little one I am hardly enough acquainted with to have much idea of; yet I think she occupies a corner of my heart, especially when I consider her at your breast."

Alluding to the death of an infant, several years after the event had taken place, he says, in a letter to his wife:—"He who bore your countenance and my name—the world has never been the same to me since his death."

These traits of household tenderness are peculiarly delightful in great men. Perhaps we unconsciously associate with them some idea of sternness, and are cheered when we find them linked to our common nature by its gentler sympathies. In tracing to their familiar sources the warm current of his affections, we find that neither the toils of an absorbing profession, the tumults of political life, nor the cares of greatness, made him insensible to the enjoyments of the fireside, indifferent to the innocent sports of infancy, or regardless of the humble happiness of childhood.

His long intercourse with men of education and rank created no contempt for the rustic society and conversation of a retired country village. He knew how to demean himself to men of low degree. His was that simple moral greatness, which never fears to demean itself by association with inferiors. He especially pitied those in a state of servitude. He treated them with a kindness and sympathy that won their confidence without diminishing their respect. He felt that in a republic the grades of distinction ought not to be jealously defined. His dignity had no need of the petty props of haughtiness and reserve.

Mingled with his high intellectual endowments, was a clear and direct common sense. This kept him from mistake in the every-day affairs of life, where sometimes the greatest men have been so much at a loss, as to subject themselves to the scoffs of the vulgar, and even to bring greatness into disrepute among the multitude. He was thoroughly and practically acquainted with many of those details which wealth seldom understands and often despises. This was remarked with wonder during his tour through the southern States. There, in

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the court-yard of a public house, when the stage-coach had sustained same injury, the inquiry was once made, "Who is that gentleman who understands every thing, and is *eloquent about a coach-wheel?*" "The Chief Justice of the United States," was the reply.

His example before his household was calculated to impress the importance of that religion which he revered and loved. Guests occasionally present at their morning and evening devotions, were solemnized by the fervor and sublimity of his prayers. He inculcated on all under his roof a reverence for the sabbath; and was in the habit of gathering them around him, and reading them a sermon, in addition to the public worship of the day. During the changes of an eventful life, the fluctuations of revolution, the interruptions incidental to high office, the gaiety of the court of France, and the desultory habits imposed by foreign travel, he never overlooked the sacred obligation of the sabbath, or shunned to give infidelity a "reason for the hope that was in him."

As he approached the close of life, the Inspired Volume, which had from youth been his guide and counsellor, became more and more dear. Like a new book, it revealed to him unknown treasures. It was both affecting and sublime, to see one who had attained such eminence in the knowledge of human laws, sitting at the feet of the Supreme Lawgiver with the docility of a child. Day and night, while he stood on the verge of a higher existence, did his soul, disengaging itself from earthly things, search the scriptures of truth with solemnity and delight. His last illness was sustained with the fortitude of a Christian; and his death took place on the 26th of November, 1807, in the sixty-third year of his age.

In contemplating his elevated character, we are struck with the prominence of high and inflexible rectitude, and of that patriotism which, forgetful of self, firmly endured toil and sustained privation. What was said of his excellent friend, Roger Sherman, might with equal propriety be affirmed of him—that his "actions, whether public or private, were attended by the secret interrogatory, what course is right? and that he never once propounded to himself the question, will it be popular?" He has also been heard to assert, that in youth he took Sherman for his model; and the elder President Adams remarked, in his sententious manner, that "this was praise enough for both." Let it also be added, as a part of the fame of Judge Ellsworth, that his pure principles, and the wisdom which regulated his political course, won for him both the praise and friendship of Washington.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

The structure of his mind was lofty and well-balanced. His eloquence rested on the basis of the reasoning powers. It aimed not to dazzle, but to convince. It has been pronounced deficient in the graces of imagination. But the devotion with which he embraced that majestic and severe science, which takes cognizance of man in his capacity of "impeding or being impeded;" which demands dexterity to untwist the spider-web of invention, strength to strike and wisdom to arrest those ideas of justice which come "only as the lightning flash amid the storm of human passions," scarcely comports with the play of fancy or the luxury of leisure. The department of imagination was therefore in him uncultivated. Thought, accustomed, like the laborer, to split the "unwedgeable and knotty oak," could not stoop to trim the vine or to train the flower. In his mind the sentiment of the beautiful was overpowered by combinations derived from the useful and the just. But the truth that philosophy seeks, and the faith that Christianity imposes, held ever their high places in his soul.

We perceive in him a predominance of those virtues which give permanence to republics—indefatigable industry, opposition to luxury and extravagance, contempt of show and pretension, inflexible integrity, respect for men of low degree, love of country, and fear of God. His was the intellectual and moral power that would have arrested heterogeneous and fluctuating particles, and settled them into order

and durability.

Educate a race with his principles and habits, and let them determine the question, whether a republic is a form of government in-

trinsically and necessarily perishable.

The name of OLIVER ELLSWORTH, by every succeeding generation in this land of freedom, should be held venerable and dear; coupled with the memory of our early liberties, and with the virtues that preserve them.

It will not be inapposite to close this brief sketch with the inscription on his monument, from the pen of his valued friend, the late

Chauncey Goodrich, Governor of the State of Connecticut

To the Memory of
OLIVER ELLSWORTH, LL.D.
An assistant in the Council, and
a Judge of the Superior Court
of the State of Connecticut;

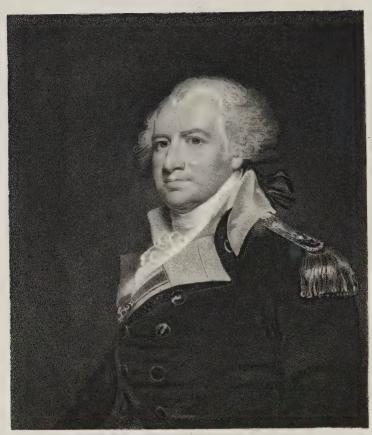
A member of the Convention which formed, and of the State Convention of Connecticut which adopted Vol. III—14

the Constitution of the United States: Senator, and Chief Justice of the United States. One of the Envoys Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary, who made the Convention of 1801, between the United States and the French Republic. Amiable and exemplary in all the relations of the domestic, social, and Christian character. Pre-eminently useful in all the elevated offices he sustained; Whose great talents, under the guidance of inflexible integrity, consummate wisdom, and enlightened zeal, employed in his country's cause and service, placed him among the first of the illustrious statesmen who achieved the Independence, and established the Government of the American Republic; reflecting lustre

on the character of his native State,
and of the United States.

Born at Windsor, on the 29th of April, 1745:
and there died,
on the 26th of November, 1807.
Conjugal affection and filial piety
have erected this monument.





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The Mitthe





THOMAS MIFFLIN.

THOMAS MIFFLIN was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1744. His ancestors were of the society of Friends, and among the earliest settlers of Pennsylvania, and of the most respectable class. He was a graduate in the college of Philadelphia, and was distinguished for scholarship and genius. He ever afterwards retained a fondness for classical literature, and was well acquainted with the best writers. He was intended by his parents for a merchant, and, after leaving college, was placed in one of the first counting houses in the city. He subsequently made a voyage to Europe, and on his return entered into business with one of his brothers. His gay and generous temper, his extraordinary powers of conversation, with his frank and popular manners, made him, at a very early age, a decided favorite with his fellow-citizens. The city of Philadelphia was at that time represented in the state legislature by two burgesses, annually elected by the people. As the difficulties with the mother country were becoming serious and threatening, it was particularly important to advance to places of high public trust, men whose patriotic principles could be relied upon; and whose knowledge, talents, and force of character qualified them to serve the country faithfully and efficiently in the impending danger. Thomas Mifflin was elected in 1772, although but twenty-eight years of age, as one of the burgesses to represent the city in the general assembly of the state. Two years afterwards he was appointed one of the delegates from the state to the first congress.

The occasion now occurred to call forth, and exhibit to advantage, his peculiar talents. No man of our country has excelled him in the fire, energy, and effect of his addresses to an assembly of the people. There was an earnest,—a fascinating animation in his manner, which touched every heart; a perspicuity in his ideas which every man could understand; and a propriety, strength, and point in his language, which, altogether, was irresistible upon his audience. He knew exactly how and vol. III—17

where to strike the public feeling. The news of the battle of Lexing ton presented a noble and interesting opportunity for the display of his powers of eloquence. Many addresses were delivered, such as the solemnity of the subject and patriotism of the orators dictated; but MIFFLIN, although the youngest of the speakers, took the bold and decisive ground of a steady adherence to the resolutions which were then offered and adopted. In a memoir of his life read to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the conclusion of his address is thus quoted-"Let us not be bold in declarations and afterwards cold in action. Let not the patriotic feeling of to-day be forgotten to-morrow; nor have it said of Philadelphia, that she passed noble resolutions, slept upon them, and afterwards neglected them." This was high language for that day, although the men of the present time, when our country has become powerful and proud, can scarcely believe it. But Mifflin did not preach a doctrine which he would not himself follow; he did not begin and end his fit of patriotism with brave words and brilliant speeches, in which there might have been as much of vanity as love of country. He did not go home to sleep upon and forget the resolutions he so warmly recommended to others. He followed them by corresponding actions, and entered at once into the military service. Companies and regiments for the assertion and defence of American liberties and rights were spontaneously formed, and Mifflin was appointed the major of one of the regiments. To wait until danger came upon him did not suit his ardent spirit; be determined to seek it, and accordingly joined the camp then formed at Boston. He very soon distinguished himself there by opposing a detachment of the British army sent to collect cattle from the neigh-An officer of high rank, who was a witness of this proceeding, declared that he "never saw a greater display of personal bravery than was exhibited on this occasion in the cool and intrepid conduct of Colonel Mifflin." A short time after the withdrawal of the British troops from Boston, Colonel MIFFLIN received from congress the commission of brigadier-general; having previously performed, in a most satisfactory manner, the arduous duties of quarter-mastergeneral. The high opinion which congress entertained of the talents, judgment, and zeal in the great cause, of General Mifflin, was manifested by a resolution of 25th of May, 1776, appointing a committee to confer with General Washington, General Gates, and General MIFFLIN, "touching the frontiers towards Canada." To be associated with such men in such a service, at the age of thirty-two, was a most gratifying honor.

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In the fall of 1776 American affairs bore a most desponding aspect, and American liberty was drooping, almost to despair. The people, even many who set out bravely on the onset, were becoming weary, discontented, and disheartened with a contest in which they no longer saw any hope of success. The army was melting away, and the shattered remnant which stood to their arms and flag had ceased to look for victory in the battle field, and were satisfied to find refuge from a conquering enemy in secure positions. In this gloomy state of the country, her leading and undaunted patriots determined to make an attempt to revive the spirit of the preceding year by personal appeals to the patriotism and honorable feelings of the people. The peculiar eloquence of General Mifflin was exactly what was wanted for this purpose, and he was directed to go into the counties of Pennsylvania, "to exhort and rouse the militia to come forth in defence of their country." His selection for this service is mentioned by Marshall in his Life of Washington; who says, that "the exertions of General Mifflin, who had been commissioned to raise the militia of Pennsylvania, though they made but little impression on the state at large, were attended with some degree of success in Philadelphia. A large proportion of the inhabitants of that city had associated for the defence of their country; and on this occasion fifteen hundred of them marched to Trenton." General Washington had given up his design of marching to Princeton on receiving intelligence that Lord Cornwallis was rapidly advancing from Brunswick, and had passed the Delaware; the British then occupying Trenton. General Mifflin was again despatched to Philadelphia to take charge of the numerous stores in that place. "The utmost exertions," says Marshall, "were made by the civil authority to raise the militia." General Mifflin was directed to "repair immediately to the neighboring counties, and endeavor, by all the means in his power, to rouse and bring in the militia to the defence of Philadelphia." Congress also declared that they deemed it of great importance to the general safety that "General Mifflin should make a progress through several of the counties of the state of Pennsylvania, to rouse the freemen thereof to the immediate defence of the city and country;" and they resolved "that the assembly be requested to appoint a committee of their body to make the tour with him, and assist in this good and necessary work." General Mifflin cheerfully accepted this good and necessary mission, and executed it with his usual ability and zeal. He assembled the people at convenient places, and poured forth his exciting eloquence in meeting-houses, churches, and court-

houses; from pulpits sacred to the offices of religion, and the judgment seats of the law. The battle of Princeton, in January, 1777, immediately followed these exertions; and the victories of Trenton and Princeton may be considered as having assured and sealed American independence. General Mifflin was present at Princeton, and makes a conspicuous figure in Col. Trumbull's painting of that memorable conflict. In the following February congress raised General

MIFFLIN to the rank of Major-General.

Although the health of General Mifflin was considerably impaired by his constant and various labors in the military service of his country, he continued in it to the end of the war; and he enjoyed, with his co-laborers in the great work, the unspeakable happiness of seeing the independence and liberties of his country firmly and for ever established. He had maintained and augmented the attachment of his fellow-citizens to him, and in 1783 was appointed, by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a member of congress. By that illustrious body of true American patriots, he was, in the fall of the same year, elevated to the seat of their president. In this capacity he received from General Washington the resignation of his commission of Commander-in-chief of the American army. It was his duty to reply to the address of Washington on this august occasion, which, in all its interesting circumstances, has no parallel in the history of human affairs. Both addresses were such as would be expected from the respective officers.

In 1785 General Mifflin was chosen a member of the legislature of Pennsylvania, and elected the speaker of that body. In 1788 he became president of the supreme executive council of the state, under the constitution of that day. In 1787 the great convention assembled at Philadelphia to frame a government for the United States, (then sinking into anarchy and ruin because they had no government,) which should "form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." A more dignified and solemn trust was never committed to human agency. The destinies of a great empire, of innumerable millions of men, were placed in their hands; and never was a trust more faithfully, more wisely, more successfully performed. In this illustrious assembly General Mifflin was one of the representatives of Pennsylvania. We cannot withstand the temptation to note the names of his colleagues in this delegation, that it may be seen to what sort of men the people of that day entrusted their high concerns.

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The Pennsylvania delegation consisted of—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris!

Soon after the adoption of the constitution of the United States, a convention was called by the people of Pennsylvania to reform their plan of government. Of this convention General Mifflin was a member, and the president. He had, as he had shown when speaker of the house of assembly, an unusual fitness for presiding over such assemblies. He was prompt and decisive, and exercised his authority with dignity and impartiality. When the constitution, formed and adopted by this convention, went into operation, General Mifflin was elected the first governor, in whose hands the whole executive power of the state was placed, and he continued to hold the office, by reflections, for the whole constitutional term, to wit, nine years.

It will be remembered that it was during Governor Mifflin's administration of the state government, that the insolent conduct of the ministers of revolutionary France disturbed the quiet of our country, by endeavoring to organize a regular opposition to the federal administration, then in the hands of President Washington. feelings of our people were highly excited in favor of what they thought was republican France. The French ministers presuming upon this feeling, and ignorant of the superior and steady attachment of our citizens to their own country and government, assumed to exercise sovereign powers within the territories of the United States. The governor of Pennsylvania, in common with a great majority of our citizens, entertained a strong predilection for the French people and their cause. But this did not lead him to forget or neglect the duties which, as the governor of Pennsylvania, he owed to the government of the Union. When the president found it necessary to call upon him for his aid in executing the laws, and maintaining the authority of the United States, the requisition was promptly complied with.

In 1794, in the midst of the excitement about French affairs, and not without some connexion with it, an insurrection broke out in some of the western counties of Pennsylvania, immediately inflamed by the imposition of certain internal taxes, particularly that on whiskey. The government of the United States, whose laws were thus defied and opposed by force, was obliged to take the field to quell the insurgents. On the call of the president, Governor Mifflin marched at the head of the quota of militia demanded of Pennsylvania; and putting aside all the pride of rank and etiquette, served under General Lee, the governor of Virginia, who had been inferior to Governor

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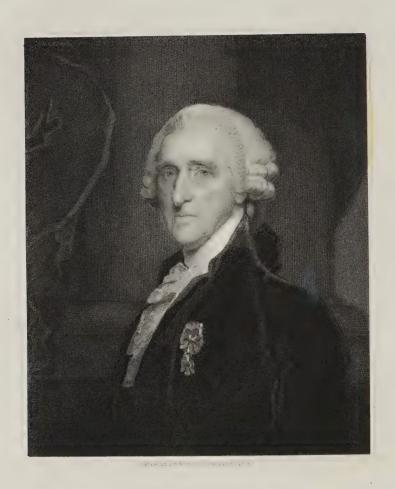
MIFFLIN in rank in the army of the war of revolution; and although the service to be performed was in Governor MIFFLIN's own state. Speaking of this insurrection, Marshall says—"By his personal exertions the governor of Pennsylvania compensated for the defects in the militia laws of that state. From some inadvertence, as was said, on the part of the brigade inspectors, the militia could not be drafted; and, consequently, the quota of Pennsylvania could be complied with only by volunteers. The governor, who was endowed with a high degree of popular eloquence, made a circuit through the lower counties of the state, and publicly addressed the militia at different places, where he had caused them to be assembled, on the crisis in the affairs of their country. So successful were these animating exhortations, that Pennsylvania was not behind her sister states in furnishing the quota required from her."

Governor Mifflin took his leave of the legislature on the 7th of December, 1799; and having been elected a member of the house of representatives, he took his seat in that assembly. His health was now exceedingly impaired; he had frequent attacks of the gout, which generally struck at his stomach. After a short confinement, he died on the 20th of January 1800, at Lancaster, at that time the seat of government. Resolutions were passed by the legislature expressive of the high sense entertained of his public services as a soldier and a statesman; his interment was provided for at the public

expense, and a monument erected to his memory.

Governor MIFFLIN, from his early youth to the hour of his death, was in the service of his country, and always in a prominent position. He maintained the confidence and favor of his fellow-citizens from the first to the last, without a moment's interruption or abatement; they, indeed, went on increasing. In his personal appearance he was uncommonly handsome; rather below the ordinary height; but his form was in such good proportion, and so firmly set, that he was admirably calculated for any exertion of activity or endurance of fatigue. There was an extraordinary brilliancy in his eye; an animation and point in his conversation, which fastened upon all who listened to him. He was an ardent and sincere friend, and nobody sooner forgot an injury. His purse was too freely open to every call upon it, and his habits of expense too improvident for his own interest and comfort. A contemporary officer of the revolution, by no means a personal friend, says that he was a man of "education, of ready apprehension and brilliancy, and possessed fortitude equal to any demands that might be made upon it."





Tho M. Freak



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The facility with which the patriots of the American Revolution passed from the excitement and turbulence of war to the cultivation of the arts of peace, is one of the most remarkable of the numerous excellencies for which they were conspicuous. They did not merely convert weapons of warfare into implements of agriculture. They displayed in civil occupations those exalted intellectual qualities which are usually the growth of peaceful nurture, but which in them seemed to spring up spontaneously, in defiance of adverse circumstances and perilous commotions. Perhaps the very concussion of society may have elicited the sparks of genius which otherwise would have lain inert, and never have been brought into existence.

We have been led to these remarks by contemplating the character of an eminent lawyer and statesman, the foundation of whose greatness was laid amidst the perils of a revolution. The condition of Chief Justice McKean was similar to that of a majority of our illustrious countrymen, who acquired in war the qualities essential to distinction in peace. The subject of this memoir was a native of the county of Chester, in the province of Pennsylvania, and was born on the nineteenth day of March, A. D. 1734.

He received his academical education under the superintendence of the Rev. Francis Allison, a scholar and divine, eminent for piety and learning; and after having acquired the customary branches of knowledge, he commenced the study of the law in the office of his relative, David Finney, Esq. at New Castle in Delaware. During the continuance of his studies, he performed the duties of Clerk of the Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, and subsequently became acputy Prothonotary, and Register for the probate of wills, &c. for the County of Newcastle, the whole labor of which devolved upon him in consequence of the absence of his principal.

His career at the bar, to which he was admitted to practice pefore he had arrived at the age of twenty-one years, was rapid; and

extended to his native county of Chester and to the city of Philadelphia. In 1756 he was appointed deputy of the Attorney-General to prosecute in the County of Sussex, which appointment he resigned after having, in a creditable manner, fulfilled its duties for two years. In 1757 he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and was without solicitation elected clerk of the Assembly, which appointment was renewed on the following year, but was subsequently declined. Another evidence of his merit and growing reputation was exhibited by his having been selected by the Legislature, together with Cæsar Rodney, Esq. in 1762, to print and revise the laws enacted since 1752; an important and responsible duty, which was executed with promptness and success.

The early part of his life having been thus devoted to the acquisition of practical knowledge, to the improvement of his abilities, and to the establishment of a broad foundation for his reputation, he was admirably well prepared, for a long and active career of public life. His qualifications were extensive, and his habits of industry firmly settled. The scene which was before him, was full of difficulty and peril. He, however, advanced with resolution, and being thoroughly prepared for every emergency, was enabled to sustain himself amidst the most complicated and hazardous embarrassments which the con-

dition of public affairs produced.

In 1762, as a member of the Assembly from the County of New Castle, he commenced that active participation in politics which he continued for nearly half a century, during which time few great events transpired with which he was not connected, and associated his name with the momentous transactions of the Revolution. During seventeen years he was annually re-elected in opposition to his avowed inclination, and notwithstanding repeated communications from him to his constituents, through the newspapers, declining a re-election. This is the more remarkable from the circumstance, that for the space of six years of that time he resided in the city of Philadelphia. It exhibits a singular proof of confidence on the part of the constituents, and fidelity in the representative.

His repeated solicitations, to be relieved from his official burthen, having been disregarded, he appeared on the 1st of October 1777, the day of the general election, at New Castle; and after delivering a long and eloquent address to his constituents on the condition of public affairs, succeeded in withdrawing his name as a candidate. But no sooner had he accomplished this object, than the confidence of the

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people placed him in a situation of singular delicacy and embarrass ment.

A committee, composed of six persons, called upon him in the name of the electors, and after expressing the reluctance with which they acquiesced in his determination no longer to be their representative, desired that, in consequence of the critical posture of affairs and their confidence in his judgment, he would recommend seven persons in whom they might confide as representatives for that county. Mr. McKean made his grateful acknowledgments for so distinguished a compliment, but struggled to be excused from a duty calculated to give offence to his friends; and assured them that he knew not only seven, but seventy of the gentlemen present at the election whom he believed to be deserving of their suffrages. The electors, however, persisted in their purpose, and the committee having returned to Mr. McKean, and informed him that a compliance with the popular will would not only not give offence to any individual, but would confer a benefit on the country, he wrote the names of seven persons, who were elected. Of the eighteen hundred electors present, the lowest of the gentlemen named by Mr. McKean, on the ballot wanted less than two hundred votes of that number.

So distinguished a proof of confidence made a deep impression on his mind, and is of itself conclusive evidence of his devotion to the public service, and the commanding integrity of his life. The experience of modern times, however, demonstrates that personal merit, unaided by the peculiar condition of society, could not have been the sole cause of the distinction. Merit in the constituents is essential to such a result. The crowd of aspirants after official importance will readily dispense with the services of an incumbent, however necessary they may be to the country, and will supply vacancies without requiring the prompting or advice of others. Mr. McKean's constituents were of a peculiar order. They conferred distinction on merit without stint or envy; and having once tested the fidelity of their representative, they—

"Grappled him to their souls with hooks of steel;

And did not dull their palms with entertainment
Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged candidate."

In 1764 the Legislature gave an additional proof of its confidence, by appointing him to be one of the three trustees of the loan office for New Castle County, which station he filled until the year 1772.

The controversy with Great Britain, which was fruitful of so many VOL. III—18

thrilling incidents, and brought so many powerful minds into action, displayed itself about this period like a speck on the horizon; and to any other than the sagacious patriots of America would hardly have seemed to portend a storm. But the legislation of the British Parliament could not escape the vigilance of Colonial jurists. The arrogance of British statesmen might look with contempt, on the apparent simplicity of a race of men whom they affected to believe had degenerated from the parent stock; but the event proved that there were veins of intellectual wealth pervading our country not surpassed in extent and value by any in Europe; and that it only required the impulse of oppression to bring into active operation moral and mental powers, which have commanded the admiration of mankind.

Mr. McKean represented the Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, in the Congress which assembled at New-York in October. 1768. His intrepidity soon gained for him distinction. He actively engaged in their proceedings, and vindicated a course of inflexible firmness. The president and several members having refused, through timidity, to sign the proceedings, Mr. McKean so warmly displayed his indignation, that he became involved in a personal controversy, but which resulted in an increase of his reputation, and in the exposure of his antagonists to popular obloquy. On his return to New Castle, he and his colleague Mr. Rodney received the unanimous thanks of the Legislature for the energy and abilities with which they had performed their duties in Congress.

During this year he was appointed Notary Public for the lower counties of Delaware, and was also raised to the Bench, having received a commission as a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, quarter Sessions, and Orphan's Court for the County of New Castle. His energy was not out of place in the judicial station; for the court displayed an act of intrepidity which closely resembles the daring spirit by which he was actuated at every period of his life. The officers of the court were ordered to perform their duties as usual on unstamped paper, and thus he promptly repudiated an unconstitutional act of Parliament.

If we are to judge of the estimation in which he was held by the number and variety of his public employments, a high rank must be assigned to him, for his services seem constantly to have been in requisition. In 1769 he was sent by the Assembly to New York to obtain copies of all documents relating to real estate in the lower counties of Delaware prior to 1700; in 1771 he was appointed by the Commissioners of his Majesty's customs, collector of the port of New

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Castle, and in October, 1772, he became the speaker of the House of Representatives.

Notwithstanding he had fixed his residence permanently in Philadelphia, the affection of his old constituents followed him, and he was appointed by the lower counties of Delaware a delegate to the Congress of 1774. Their confidence continued with undeviating constancy, and was exhibited by an annual re-election until the restoration of peace in 1783, a distinction which was peculiar to himself, there being no other example of an unbroken term of service during that space of time. The convenience of his location at the place of the meeting of Congress may have induced the Delawarians to have selected him, and the absence of extensive pecuniary means of defraying the expenses of a delegate, may have quieted the aspiring spirits of rival candidates, and thus have thrown power into the hands of a man who systematically disregarded selfish considerations.

The business of Congress was promptly and efficiently transacted by the aid of his indefatigable and enlightened services. The extent and variety of his labors could only be fully appreciated by his coadjutors in the many secret committees which were occupied in the constant investigation of the affairs of a nation, and struggling to devise the means of carrying it triumphantly through a long and desolating conflict. In June, 1775, he was a member of the committee which prepared and reported the articles of confederation, which however were not finally agreed to, until late in the following year, and not ratified by all the States until March 1781, when the State of Maryland authorised her delegates to concur.

In addition to his other public duties, he was President of the convention of deputies from the committee of Pennsylvania, held at Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia, in June 1776, who recommended a Declaration of Independence by Congress; a similar resolution having been previously adopted in the month of May by the regiment of Associators of which he was the colonel. In the same year he was chairman of the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, of the Committee of observation and inspection for the city and liberties of Philadelphia, and of a conference of delegates in Congress from the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; thus exhibiting himself as a prominent and untiring laborer in a glorious but most perilous conflict.

A slight knowledge of the character of Mr. McKean will prepare us to find him in that intrepid rank of patriotic men who projected the independence of their country, and at the risk of their lives severed

the tie which bound her to the British dominions. He was the earnest advocate of the propriety of making a Declaration of Independence, and its undaunted supporter after the measure had been adopted. Mr. Rodney, one of the three delegates from Delaware, being absent on the first of July, when Independence was resolved on in Committee of the whole, and Mr. Read and Mr. McKean differing in opinion, the vote of Delaware would have been lost, had not the zeal of Mr. McKean induced him to send an express at his private expense for Mr. Rodney. That gentleman arrived on the morning of the fourth, and uniting with Mr. McKean, gave the vote of Delaware in favor of Independence; by which means that measure was adopted with the concurrence of all the States. In consequence of his absence, performing military services for several months immediately succeeding the fourth of July, an opportunity did not occur until the month of October of affixing his signature to the Declaration, engrossed on parchment.

But it was not merely in a civil capacity that Mr. McKean acquired distinction. He performed the duties of a soldier with firmness and activity. A pitched battle might have ranked him among the military heroes of our country. Although he was never in a regular engagement, his personal risk was great, and his exertions ardent. The services of the militia of Pennsylvania having been required in New Jersey, Mr. McKean, as colonel of a regiment, marched a few days after the Declaration of Independence to Perth Amboy, to support General Washington, and continued in active service until the occasion which called them to camp had ceased. In the performance of military duty he faced the cannon's mouth, and had his capacity as a soldier fully tested by his exposure to a heavy firing from the enemy's batteries.

He had no sooner resumed his seat in Congress, than his attendance at Dover, as a member of the convention for forming a Constitution for Delaware, was required. On his arrival, after a fatiguing ride, he was met by a committee, who requested him to write a constitution for them. The labor occupied the night. The constitution written by him was presented at 10 o'clock the next morning, and unanimously adopted.

On the 28th of July, 1777, he was commissioned by the Supreme Executive council of Pennsylvania as Chief Justice, a station which he filled with distinguished ability for twenty-two years. As the nation was just emerging from a Colonial condition, and as the disturbed state of society unsettled the rights of property, great and novel questions were constantly occurring, which required a court of more

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than ordinary sagacity, firmness, and learning to determine. Chief Justice McKean displayed qualifications equal to the emergencies of the times; and, independently of the high authority of his opinions, his character as a great judge has descended, in prominent relief, to posterity.

In the performance of his judicial functions he displayed a firmness which no danger could affect; at one time braving the power of Great Britain by the punishment of treason against his country, and at another stemming the torrent of popular excitement by shieldingthe accused from illegal punishment.

When we reflect that at the time of his appointment to the office of Chief Justice he was a member of Congress, speaker of the Assembly, President of Delaware, and that in July, 1781, he occupied the station of President of Congress, we can form an estimate of the vast labor which he performed, and of the unwearied application requisite to master the complicated details of litigated cases, essential to the faithful fulfilment of his judicial duties. Yet amidst the violence of party animosity in which he was extensively involved, his enemies do not seem to have charged him with the neglect of any of his duties, although his filling so many offices became the ground of complaint.

Mr. McKean struggled to obtain relief from the great burthen of public affairs which was heaped upon him. His health and fortune were impaired, by his attention to public business. As a delegate in Congress, he had never received sufficient to defray his expenses; and for two years he had neither been offered nor received any compensation. The Legislature of Delaware, however, declined accepting his resignation; and although Congress, on the twenty-third of October, 1781, accepted his resignation as president, on the next day they requested him to resume that station until the fifth of the following November, when, having elected an officer to supply his place, they relieved him from the duties of the chair, and rewarded him by a vote of thanks.

Chief Justice McKean was often exposed to party animosity. His integrity and great public services carried him through the fiery ordeal unscathed. The confidence of his countrymen sustained him in every trial. His ardent temperament and energy of character, were always accompanied by disinterested patriotism, and strength of intellect. An unsuccessful attempt was made to impeach him when performing the duties of Chief Justice. But his reputation remained unsullied, and his career of usefulness was not yet terminated.

In 1787 Chief Justice McKean was a member of the Convention

of Pennsylvania which ratified the Constitution of the United States a measure which he advocated with all his zeal and ability. "I have gone," said he, "through the circle of office, in the Legislature, Executive, and Judicial departments of government; and from all my study, observation, and experience, I must declare, that from a full examination and due consideration of this system, it appears to me the best the world has yet seen. I congratulate you on the fair prospect of its being adopted, and am happy in the expectation of seeing accomplished what has long been my ardent wish, that you will hereafter have a salutary permanency in magistracy and stability in the laws."

He was always the advocate of the rights of the smaller States, which he struggled to protect from the encroachments of the larger members of the confederacy. In the Congress of 1765, and in that of 1774, he insisted that they should vote by States, which course was adopted. Although he was not a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, he took a deep interest in their proceedings, and exerted his influence to secure the adoption of his favorite principle, of an equal vote in national proceedings by all the States. He furnished the delegates from Delaware with notes of his arguments on former occasions, when the question was discussed in Congress, and urged upon the members from the larger, the propriety of securing the rights of the smaller States. An equal representation in the Senate of the United States, accomplished his object.

In 1789 Chief Justice McKean was elected a delegate, from the city of Philadelphia to the Convention, to amend the Constitution of Pennsylvania. He engaged in the performance of his duties with his usual earnestness; but as he mostly occupied the chair when the Convention was in Committee of the whole, he was precluded from a very active participation in the debate. A proposition for the gratuitous education of the poor was suggested by him as an amendment to Mr. Wilson's resolution for the establishment of schools, both of which provisions were incorporated in the section of the Constitution, which, on the motion of Mr. Pickering, was finally adopted.

After a warm party conflict, he was, in the year 1799, elected Governor of Pennsylvania, which station he filled for nine years. The extensive patronage of the Executive of Pennsylvania, renders the possession of that office essential to party ascendency, and conequently the acquisition agitates the commonwealth with the most violent party commotions. In the conflict the public good is too often overlooked; and he who gains the victory, is too apt to consider the

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emoluments of public employment as the appropriate reward for services rendered to a party.

Experience and skill are too often dispensed with, and the undisciplined incumbent naturally strives during the brief and uncertain space of his official career, to reap as large a share as practicable of the pecuniary benefits of his station. It is to be regretted that a man of Governor McKean's high standing and independent spirit should have yielded to the dominion of party feeling, and have sanctioned by his high authority the practice of removing from office on mere party grounds, which has so completely gained the ascendency in the State, and been so prolific of mischief to the public service. He. however, did not hesitate to remove his political antagonists, and frankly avowed his motives. "It is at least imprudent," said he in a letter to Mr. Jefferson, "to foster spies continually about one's self. I am only sorry that I did not displace ten or eleven more: for it is not right to put a dagger in the hands of an assassin." The violence of his animosity did not, however, continue without intermission: for after his administration became firmly settled, he distinguished merit in the ranks of his opponents, and elevated men to office who belonged to the party opposed to him.

Swayed, as he occasionally was, by party feeling, the general tenor of his administration was marked by his accustomed ability and devotion to the public welfare. The extent of his knowledge, the vigor of his language, and the ardor of his patriotism, gave him a lofty station in the confidence of the people, and sustained the popularity of his administration. In the years 1807 and 1808 another attempt was made to impeach him, which drew from him a vigorous and successful defence.

In the exercise of the important and delicate power of appointment, he acted from the impulse of his own mind, and disdained to submit to party dictation. With a strongly marked character, and feelings inured to independence, his errors and his virtues emanated from his own breast, and were not derived from an imitation of others or from a compliance with their views of propriety. Lofty and inflexible, he pursued that course which he believed to be right, and met the consequences of public scrutiny, and the menace of popular condemnation, with a fearless consciousness of rectitude.

In the year 1803 he declined an urgent solicitation to become a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the Union, and at the close of the year 1808, having served as Governor during the constitutional period of nine years, he finally retired from public life, and sought, in

the endearments of domestic life, and in the cultivation of literature, the enjoyments congenial to his age and inclination. He survived his retirement about nine years, and, separated from all causes of irritation, enjoyed the unbounded respect and gratitude of the people whom he had so efficiently served.

In the year 1814, when the rapid advances of the British awakened apprehensions for the safety of Philadelphia, which was almost entirely unprotected, a town meeting was convened in Independence Square to devise measures for its security, The venerable patriot attended, and his appearance was loudly greeted by the assembled multitude, who unanimously called him to the chair. He briefly addressed the meeting, aroused a spirit of devotion to their country, and endeavored to soothe all dissentions by reminding them "that there were then but two parties, our country and its invaders." His speech was in the spirit of times which were past, and was recognised as the voice of a patriot and a sage. Prompt and effective measures were the result of the meeting.

Governor McKean's deportment was dignified and impressive. His fortitude, energy, and industry, were fully exhibited in his conduct throughout life, whilst his public integrity has often been the theme of commendation; his private character seems to have escaped reproach. He was twice married; once in 1762 to Miss Mary Borden of Bordentown, and in 1774 to Miss Sarah Armitage of New Castle,

He died on the twenty-fourth of June, 1817, aged eighty-three years two months and sixteen days; and was interred in the burial ground of the first Presbyterian Church in Market Street, Philadelphia.

In reviewing the lives of patriotic men, who have devoted their abilities to the service of the republic, it is gratifying to dwell on illustrious actions, upon which posterity pronounces an unanimous verdict of approbation. Differences of opinion on abstract points, or on temporary measures, are overlooked in contemplating a career distinguished for patriotic devotion to the public service. Party feeling subsides, human infirmity is forgotten, and the reputation of the patriot survives for ages. The fame of Governor McKean is identified with some of the most important events of our country. History, in recording them, will recount the virtues and the privations by which they were accomplished. T. A. B.





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In Habenham



JOSEPH HABERSHAM.

Colonel Joseph Habersham was born at Savannah, in Georgia, on the 28th of July, 1751. His father, James Habersham, was a native of Yorkshire, England, and accompanied his friend, the Rev. George Whitefield, to Georgia in the year 1738. There he soon became the President of the Orphan House, or Bethesda College, established by the exertions of Mr. Whitefield; for which charge he was well qualified, by his literary, as well as moral and religious character and habits. He was afterwards appointed one of the King's Council in the Colony, and subsequently its President and acting Governor, in the absence of Sir James Wright, in which situation he remained until his death, a few months before the expulsion of the Royal authority from Georgia, in the year 1776. Although foreign to our subject, it is but justice to the memory of President Habersham to remark, that, while in office, his letters pointed out to the ministry the grievances under which the Colony was laboring from the pernicious and oppressive acts of the British Parliament, the growing spirit of liberty among the people, and warned them of the consequences of perseverance in oppression. Faithful to his duties, but independent in their exercise, after a life devoted to the service and improvement of his adopted country, he was saved, by death, from seeing that country "made a desolation," his fair possessions wasted, and his sons denounced as traitors. Of these sons there were three, James, Joseph, and John, who all engaged with zeal in the Revolution; and, regardless of consequences, rejecting and despising all offers of Royal clemency, continued to the end the unflinching friends and active supporters of the republican cause.

Joseph, the second son, and subject of this notice, was educated at Princeton College, in New Jersey. Of quick and ardent temper, brave and chivalrous almost to excess, a pupil of Witherspoon, and with the independent spirit which he had inherited from his father, it seems to

have been almost a matter of course that he should have taken an early, active, and decided part in the excited feelings and deeply interesting movements of the times. Accordingly, on the 27th July, 1774, at the age of twenty-three, we find him a member of the first committee appointed by the friends of liberty in Georgia; which, in defiance of the proclamation of Governor Wright, continued to co-operate with similar committees in the northern Provinces, and to excite the people to resistance. When we recollect, in connexion with this fact, that his father was, at that moment, the second officer of the King in the Province, and high in favor, the prominent part which Colonel HABERSHAM took in these proceedings exhibits a deep devotion to the cause of his country, which no influence of others, or considerations of a personal nature, could restrain. In the following year, and while his father was still alive and in office, we again find his name recorded among those of a small party of the Republicans, who broke open the magazine, took out the powder, and sent a large portion of it to Beaufort, in South Carolina, for the use of the patriots. In the month of June of the same year he was appointed one of the council of safety; and in July, commanded a party of volunteers which went down the river in boats, captured a government ship which had just arrived with munitions of war for the royal troops, and took out the cargo, including 15,000 pounds of powder, a portion of which was afterwards sent to the north and used by the American army before Boston. On the 18th day of January of the ever-memorable year 1776, Colonel Habersham, who was at that time a member of the assembly, raised a party of volunteers, took Governor Wright prisoner, and confined him to his house under a guard. The Governor effected his escape, however, from this prison in a few weeks, took refuge on board of a British vessel of war then in the river, and never afterwards landed in Georgia.

Active hostilities were now fairly commenced in the province. By a resolution of the General Assembly the first battalion of Georgia Continental troops was raised; and on the 4th of February, 1776, Colonel, then Mr. Habersham, was appointed Major of that battalion. In this command he did not remain idle; for, early in March, the British armed squadron came up the river Savannah to recover possession of the town, which attempt failed. In the defence, Colonel HA-BERSHAM, at the head of a company of riflemen, bore a distinguished part. In fact, he appears at this time to have been prominently engaged on every occasion in which danger was to be encountered, or

the royal authority resisted.

JOSEPH HABERSHAM.

After the expulsion of Governor Wright, and of the British forces from Georgia, that Province enjoyed a few months of comparative quiet; during which, on the 19th of May, 1776, Colonel Habersham married Isabella Rae, the daughter of Robert Rae, and sister-in-law of General Samuel Elbert. Upon the taking of Savannah, in the winter of 1778, and the re-establishment of the Royal Government in Georgia, Colonel Habersham removed his family to Virginia for safety; but his zeal in the cause of his country did not permit him to retire from its service, and accordingly, upon the landing of Count De Estaing in Georgia, to co-operate with General Lincoln in the reduction of Savannah, he was selected as the officer to guide the French army from the sea-board, and was engaged in the combined attack upon his native city, so disastrous in its results. After the failure of this attack, and the retreat of the American and French armies from the State, Savannah, and nearly the whole of Georgia, remained in possession of the British, and so continued to the end of the war.

At the close of the Revolution, Colonel Habersham returned to private life with a broken fortune, but rich in the respect and affection of a free and independent people. In the ever-memorable contest which had just closed, it would be invidious to claim for Colonel HABER-SHAM either a peculiar strength of patriotism or of devotion to the cause of the Revolution; thousands, like him, had perilled life and fortune in that Revolution: but when we reflect that his father was high in office, and in the confidence of the King; that he himself, if the Royal authority was preserved, had every prospect of enjoying like confidence and distinction; that the very weakness of the Province gave, in the beginning, but little hope of effectual resistance; and that, in the event of failure, he would, from these very circumstances, become a marked object of Royal vengeance; surely we may be entitled to claim for him more than a common share of devoted patriotism—and such was the portion awarded to him by his native State. In the year 1785 he was elected Speaker of the General As sembly: and in 1790 was again honored with the same distinction.

In the year 1795 Colonel Habersham was called, by Washington, to the distinguished station of Post-Master-General of the United States; and we require no better proof of the able and faithful manner in which he discharged his duties, than the fact that he retained that office, not only to the close of the administration of Washington, but throughout that of the elder Adams. At a period when so many, from great and devoted service to the country, had claims to office; and these claims, well-known and appreciated; and when the selec-

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tion was made by Washington, this appointment was the best evidence of his great merit, and the general estimation in which he was held. In this office, as has been already stated, he continued until the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency; but he retained the office so long, by no cringing or truckling to the higher authorities; for the president, Mr. Adams, having told him that the post-office department was an Augean stable, and must be cleansed—meaning that the post-masters who were of the opposite party must be removed; Colonel Habersham replied, that these officers had discharged their duty faithfully, and that, therefore, he would not remove them, but that the president could remove the post-master-general. This, however, Mr. Adams, it seems, did not think proper to do.

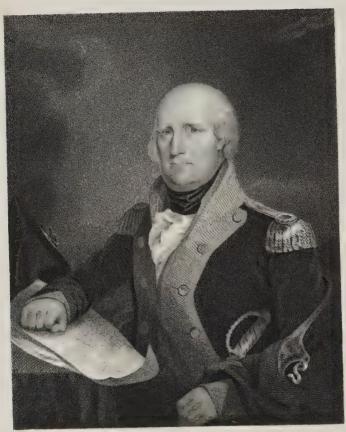
The principle, however, which Colonel Habersham refused to act upon was soon after made to act upon him. When Mr. Jefferson became the president, a polite note was addressed to Colonel Habersham, tendering to him the office of Treasurer of the United States. This offer was received as, no doubt, it was intended to be, an intimation to him to resign the office of post-master-general, which he

immediately did, and returned to Georgia.

Upon the establishment of a branch of the old Bank of the United States in Savannah, Colonel Habersham was appointed the President, which office he continued to hold until the expiration of the charter. The few remaining years of his life were devoted to honorable efforts to repair the ruins of that fortune which had been broken by the Revolution, and in preparation for the close of that life, the greater portion of which had been devoted to the service of his country. His death occurred in his native city, on the 17th day of November in the year 1815, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

We have said that Colonel Habersham was quick and ardent in temper; but, although quick to take offence, he was ready and anxious to make atonement for the slightest wrong—kind and indulgent to his slaves, humane and liberal to the poor, strict in the performance of all his contracts; tenacious of his own, as he had been of the rights of his country. Allowing to others the same independent and frank expression of opinion which he always exercised for himself, he may with truth be pronounced to have been a fair specimen of that noble, generous, and chivalric race who achieved the liberty and independence of our happy country.





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To form a correct estimate of the services of George Rogers CLARKE, we must examine the extensive outline of the British possessions in North America at the commencement of the Revolutionary war; we must turn our attention from the broad field of contest, stretching along the Atlantic, where the sovereignty of the elder States was lost and won, and trace the links of that chain which galled the Northern and Western frontiers of the United States during the war for Independence, but which were broken in succession by a series of gallant exploits, that ultimately secured the extensive western domain of the republic, and gave existence to the new States on the Ohio and Mississippi. We must become acquainted with the horrors of Indian warfare as it was waged upon those, who at that time were the pioneers of the far West. We must seek the origin, and notice, at least in part, the execution of the savage policy of the British ministry, which drew from the venerable Earl of Chatham those bursts of indignant eloquence, which have rendered his name familiar to every schoolboy in America. Then it will be seen, that the object of that barbarous and cruel policy, or whatever else it might have been, which let loose the tomahawk and scalping knife upon the frontier settlers of the States, which the immortal senator denounced, was severely chastised and checked, if not defeated, by the energy and prowess of Clarke, at the head of a mere handful of brave backwoodsmen.

From the first settlement of the Colonies in America, whether by the Spaniards, French, or English, all had availed themselves of the divisions amongst the aboriginal tribes, their thirst for revenge, their love of the fierce excitements of war, and their credulity; and sought, first, to attach those tribes nearest to their settlements to themselves, and then set them on to destroy their enemies. The wars and national animosities of Europe were transferred with the Colonists to the American wilderness. All the barbarities of Indian warfare

were tolerated and frequently rewarded.* The red men were stimulated to destroy each other, and to shed the blood of white men, and to spare not; and when even the Europeans were at peace among themselves, base and mercenary individuals of their race availed themselves of their intercourse with the Indian tribes to rouse them to deeds of violence. We do not say that contention could have been always avoided, had the short-sighted policy of the whites been of a more humane and consistent character. The very growth and extension of the Colonies would have created jealousy in the hunters of the forest, and a consequent effort to check the intrusion. The interests and habits of civilized and savage life, when they interfere with each other, must lead sooner or later to collision and strife; and to terminate the consequent evils once for all, extermination or separation are the alternatives. The former has been extensively practised upon, but the latter has been for many years the grand scheme of the republic.

At the termination of the French war, in 1763, Great Britain held the vast tract of country which extends north and east of the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi-from the Atlantic Ocean to the unexplored regions of the Frozen Sea. The wars between the French and English for the possession of Canada, and for the territory between the lakes and the Ohio, had brought into the field, on both sides, auxiliary Indian forces. The treaty of peace negotiated at Paris did not secure tranquillity to the inhabitants of the borders. The Indian tribes on the North-western territory only paused to form new plans, and then went on to harass the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania as they had done before. Their scalping parties advanced into the settlements, and marked their way with the most horrid cruelties. Large bodies of the confederated tribes attacked all the distant fortified posts, and in fifteen days captured ten of them and massacred the garrisons. Forts Pitt, Niagara, and Detroitheld out, and were relieved and saved.

Although a peace with the Indians was formally concluded by Colonel Bouquet in 1764, their fixed hostility to the whites displayed itself whenever an opportunity presented of taking a prisoner or a scalp.

^{*} There were exceptions, but they were few. When the Indians were employed by the Europeans in their wars, attempts to control them gave offence: the following extract from Williams's History of Florida is to the point:—"A Cherokee encountering a Spaniard, cut off his head and brought it to Oglethorpe, but he spurned the savage with abhorence, and, calling him a barbarous dog, bid him begone. The Cherokee said that the French would have treated them very differently. They soon after drew off, and left the place."

Retaliation followed of course. Thus the backwoodsmen became familiar with all the subleties and craft of Indian warfare; and such in general was their love of adventure and disdain of danger, that they frequently undertook hazardous enterprises from mere curiosity, or the pleasure of traversing a country where no white man had ever trod before.

About the year 1770, the unoccupied domain of Virginia, west of the Cumberland mountains, began to attract the attention of the adventurous inhabitants of the borders. Individuals and small parties successively ventured to explore the unknown region. Many of them never returned; but those who did, gave the most favorable reports of the richness of the soil and the abundance of game. The settlement of the present State of Kentucky immediately followed; and about a

year afterward the Revolutionary war commenced.

Amongst those who visited Kentucky at, or soon after, the period that the earliest emigrants had there set up their cabins, was George ROGERS CLARKE. He was a Virginian; born in Albemarle, on the 19th of Nove. 1752, but is spoken of as a resident in one of the Western counties in 1776, when he went on a tour of observation amongst the new settlements. He visited the forts, the camps, the cabins; he spent much of his time in the woods, made himself acquainted with every subject of interest in the country, and gained the friendship and confidence of the people by the manliness of his deportment, his intelligence and vivacity, and above all, by the boldness of his spirit for enterprise, and the determination he expressed of becoming a resident of the country. This visit of Mr. Clarke was productive of very important events. He ascertained that the whole frontier was vexed by Indian atrocities, through the influence of British agents. The savages were instigated to deeds of cruelty by the promises of reward for scalps, but not for prisoners; and they were supplied with rum, arms, ammunition and clothing at the British posts, which were established from the Mississippi to the St. Lawrence. Mr. CLARKE was deeply affected by the scenes of hostility by which he found himself surrounded. He therefore devised a plan to capture the Western posts, a work which was well adapted to employ his genius, and, if attended with success, to gratify his military propensities and ardent love of adventure.

The reader will remember that the British posts on the Wabash and the Mississippi were within the bounds of the Virginia charter; that at the time of which we are now writing, a strong current of emigration had begun to set towards the West; and that in 1777,

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Kentucky was admitted to the privileges of a County of Virginia. The possibility and importance of capturing those posts, and securing thereby the tranquillity of the frontier, was suggested by Mr. Clarke to the governor and legislature of Virginia, and his project met with a favorable reception. In the beginning of 1778 a regiment of State troops was raised for the service of the Western frontier, and placed under his command. With a force of between two and three hundred men, Colonel CLARKE crossed the mountains to the Monongahela, and descended by water to the falls of the Ohio. There he left thirteen families of emigrants, who had ventured so far under his escort; and being there joined by a party of volunteers from Kentucky, he proceeded with his regiment in boats down the Ohio, to a point about sixty miles from its mouth and one hundred and thirty from Kaskaskia, which was the secret object of the expedition. route lay through a low country, intersected by numerous streams and ponds of various dimensions, and covered with a luxuriant vegetation. With his rifle in his hand and his provisions on his back, Colonel CLARKE marched at the head of his men, and encountered every difficulty and shared every privation with them. Their provisions were exhausted two days before they reached the town; and although game might have been shot in abundance, the report of a rifle might have warned some solitary hunter or roving Indian of their approach, and secrecy was essential to success. They arrived by night before the town of Kaskaskia, and found the inhabitants and the garrison lulled in the supposed security of their remote position, and so unconscious of danger, that they were completely taken by surprise, and surrendered without resistance. No one was allowed to escape to carry the news to the villages higher up the Mississippi, and in a few days all the settlements were taken. The inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to the United States, the fort at Kaskaskia became the head-quarters of Colonel CLARKE, and at the next session of the Virginia legislature the district was created into a county, and called Illinois.

His next exploit was the capture of Vincennes. That post had been considered within reach of an attack from the American settlements, and was strongly fortified, and well garrisoned with British troops, commanded by Governor Hamilton, and supported by an auxiliary Indian force of about six hundred warriors. Governor Hamilton was very soon informed of Clarke's success, and determined to attack him; but, confident in the superiority of his force, he deferred his operations until the rivers and smaller streams, which

then overflowed their banks, should become passable. Colonel CLARKE, in the mean time, prepared to attack Vincennes, and despatched a party to reconnoitre, while he strengthened the defences of Kaskaskia, which he determined to hold at all hazards. While he was arranging his plans for future operations, an itinerant Spanish merchant, who had recently visited Vincennes, arrived, and informed him that Governor Hamilton had detached his Indians to the Ohio and the frontiers of Kentucky; that he proposed to retake Kaskaskia in the Spring, to cut off the inhabitants on the Ohio as far as Fort Pitt, and then operate on the frontiers of Virginia. Colonel CLARKE determined upon instant operations. He made the best preparations he could for a march of one hundred and sixty miles across a country abounding in embarrassments. Several large rivers and their tributary streams, with broad belts of inundated land on each side, were to be crossed without boats or bridges; and the whole route lay over a soil which afforded no firm footing, and through rough and pathless woods. Without wagons and without tents, their ammunition and provisions on their backs and on the backs of a few packhorses, one hundred and thirty men toiled for sixteen days through mud and water. The last five days were occupied in crossing the swamps and drowned lands within about six miles of the fort, wading sometimes breast deep in water, and then forcing their way through tangled thickets and over floating timber. It was mid winter; and had not the weather been unusually mild, all these brave men must have perished. On the evening of the 23d of February, 1779, they reached dry land within view of the fort. The town immediately surrendered. The attack on the fort commenced, and there was a continual fire on both sides for eighteen hours. The next night, after the setting of the moon, the assailants threw up an entrenchment within rifle shot of the strongest battery, and poured such showers of well-directed balls into the ports, that in fifteen minutes two pieces of cannon were silenced. The next evening Governor Hamilton surrendered the garrison prisoners of war, and Colonel CLARKE took possession of the fort and a large quantity of stores. In the height of the action an Indian war party approached with two French prisoners. Colonel CLARKE detached a part of his men to give them battle on the commons. Nine Indians were taken, and the Frenchmen released. Hearing, soon after, of a convoy of goods from Detroit. he sent sixty men in armed boats, well mounted with swivels, to intercept it. They met the convoy forty leagues up the river, and made prize of the whole, taking forty prisoners and about ten thou

sand pounds worth of goods and provisions, and the mail from Canada. Having more prisoners than he knew what to do with, he was obliged to discharge a great part of them on parole. Governor Hamilton and his principal officers were sent to Virginia, and Colonel CLARKE returned to Kaskaskia, leaving a sufficient garrison at Vincennes. Up to this time he had been left to the resources of his own judgment, and had accomplished a great work with very small means. He had received neither letters nor assistance from Virginia in upwards of a year. Could he have mustered three hundred men at Vincennes, he would have marched to Detroit; and such was the effect on his little band, of a vote of thanks by the Legislature of Virginia for the capture of the posts on the Mississippi, that they would have attempted the reduction of that important post had the commander requested it. But prudence forbade the attempt, though from subsequent information there was a strong probability it would have been successful. The alliance with France had been effected, the inhabitants were principally descendants of French settlers, the haughty and tyrannical conduct of Governor Hamilton had offended them, they rejoiced at his captivity, and had prepared for a welcome reception of the Americans. But before CLARKE heard of all this, Detroit had been reinforced, and the favorable opportunity was lost. The brilliant exploits of Colonel CLARKE had, however, deranged the extensive plans of the enemy, and some of the western tribes were detached from the British interest: the limits of the United States were extended to the Mississippi, where they remained fixed; and the current of population rolled steadily onward to the West without impediment. The families before mentioned as having been left at the falls of Ohio, had taken up their abode upon an island for more easy defence; they now removed to the Kentucky shore, and founded Louisville, which soon became a place of importance, and Colonel CLARKE made it his head-quarters.

The alliance with France and the mediation of Spain excited sanguine hopes in the country that peace would soon follow, and the question of boundaries began to present itself in all its important bearings upon the future interests of the United States. It had been suggested that possession by either party might be the principle adopted in the final adjustment. If that principle had been contemplated by Great Britain, it might have been one of the motives which led to the subornation of Indian hostilities on the borders; but we can hardly believe that to have been the case, for Great Britain had not yet begun to view the question as one which could possibly arise. On the contrary, the Americans had no doubt that at some period not

remote, the boundaries must be defined, and as the principle of occupation might be adopted, Virginia determined to make the earliest and best use of her means in anticipation. Colonel CLARKE was, therefore, directed to select a commanding position on the Mississippi, near the southern boundary claimed by the State, and there establish a fort and garrison, and to advance his posts towards the lakes, that they might be in actual possession of, and give protection to, the State. In compliance with these orders, he built Fort Jefferson on the Mississippi. This gave umbrage to the Chickasaws, as it was erected on their hunting-ground; but full explanations being given of the object of the measure, and of its importance for their own security, as well as for that of Virginia, they became satisfied; and when the fort and garrison were afterwards attacked by hostile Indians, the Chickasaws came to their relief, and drove off the besieging force. The place was subsequently restored to the Chickasaws. In the northern quarter Colonel CLARKE proceeded with his usual judgment, combining policy with enterprise, encouraging peace among the friendly tribes, and directing against the hostile the force of those who could not be persuaded to remain inactive. His influence with the Indians was very great. He assembled four or five thousand at Vincennes to carry out his favorite project—the capture of Detroit; but, disappointed in the number of whites he had expected, and not choosing to rely almost entirely upon Indians, he was obliged to abandon the expedition. Meanwhile the British commander at Detroit was not idle. On the 1st of June, 1780, he assembled six hundred Canadians and Indians, for a secret expedition under Colonel Byrd. On the 22d, this force presented itself with two field-pieces before Ruddle's station in Kentucky, which was obliged to capitulate: Martin's station was captured immediately afterward, and the inhabitants of both were loaded with the spoil of their own dwellings, and hurried off towards Canada. A prompt retaliation was required; and when Colonel CLARKE called on the militia of Kentucky for volunteers to accompany his regiment against the Indians, there was no delay on their part. Having collected a respectable portion of the force of the country, he led it against the Shawanees on the Great Miami. A fierce conflict at Pickawa, one of their principal towns, terminated in the flight of the Indians. The town was burnt, and all the means of subsistence of the inhabitants was destroyed. Colonel Clarke returned to the Ohio, and discharged the militia; and the Indians, being reduced to the necessity of hunting for the support of their families, gave Kentucky no further trouble that season. In December

of the same year he was in Richmond, urging the government for means to execute his favorite enterprise—the reduction of Detroit—the grand focus of Indian hostilities from the Mohawk to the Mississippi. His views were approved; but before the necessary arrangements could be completed, a British force from New-York, under Arnold, carried hostilities into the heart of the State. Colonel Clarke took a temporary command under Baron Steuben, and participated in the active measures of that officer against the marauding traitor.

After several months had been spent in indefatigable efforts to obtain a force of two thousand men for the enterprise against Detroit, the several corps destined for the service were designated, and ordered to rendezvous on the 15th of March, 1781, at the falls of Ohio, and Clark was raised to the rank of a Brigadier General: but unexpected and insuperable difficulties arose, and the ardent genius of the commander was confined to defensive operations. This appears to us to have been the turning point in the fortunes of the hardy warrior.

It has been our object, in the conduct of this work, to state only wellattested facts; to award merited praise; to cultivate a proper respect for the institutions, and the men of genius, and every variety of talent in our own country; and to cherish every patriotic sentiment by the influence of example. It frequently has been our pleasing study to exhibit the impulsion of individual character upon the destinies of the nation-to connect biography with history, and thus far we have so traced the career of the subject of this sketch. We have followed him over a broad field, have marked the energy, perseverance, and determination of his character; we have shown the daring bravery, the fertile genius, and the correct judgment of the individual, uniting in the achievement of exploits of permanent and national interest and honor, and impelling him onward to the accomplishment of others of still greater benefit to his country. We must now reverse the order of our reflections, and note the effect of disappointment upon the individual, who, having done much, is conscious he can do more, but finds his future prospects blighted at the moment of their brightest promise. He had set his heart upon destroying the British influence throughout the whole north-western territory. Could he have had the means which he required, his advancement in rank would, no doubt, have been gratifying; but without a General's command, a General's commission was of no value. Dangers and hardships he would have disregarded; but with his small force, to be stationed on the frontier to repel the inroads of a few predatory bands of Indians when he was eager to carry the war to the lakes, was more than he

could bear, and it preved upon his spirit. He was a lion chained. but he was still a lion, and so the enemy found him in 1782. When the news of the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks reached General CLARKE, he took immediate measures to rouse the country from its anguish and despondency, and to carry the war once more into the enemy's territory.

In September of that year a thousand mounted riflemen assembled on the banks of the Ohio, and were put in motion by the General for the Indian towns on the Miami and Scioto. The expedition was conducted with the celerity to be expected from the quality and temper of the troops. The Indians fled before them, and not more than twelve were killed or taken. Five of their towns were reduced to ashes, and all their provisions were destroyed; the effect of which was, that no formidable party of Indians ever afterward invaded Kentucky.

In the course of the ensuing two years, the Kentuckians found themselves in circumstances of restraint. Peace had taken place, but they were threatened with Indian hostilities: these, if brought into their own district, they could repel; but experience had often proved that the best defence against Indians was to anticipate their attacks, and this they had not now the right to do, as the territory north-west of the Ohio had been ceeded to the United States, and Kentucky was still a part of Virginia. The remedy proposed at this time was a separation from Virginia, the formation of an independent State, and admission to the Union. Conventions were called, delegates appointed to consult on, and take measures for, the future safety of the district, and for the redress of real and imaginary grievances. This was a period of agitation in Kentucky, and agitators were there who knew, or thought they knew, how to take advantage of the popular feelings. James Wilkinson, whose name, both before and since, has been united with the most remarkable intrigues and plots in the history of our country, was then a settler at Lexington, and had gained an ascendency: and the name of the hitherto most popular man west of the mountains is not to be found among the delegates on any occasion during this period. Congress, however, had not forgotten him; and he was appointed, in March, 1784, with four other gentlemen, to negotiate friendly treaties with the Indians. Several treaties were made, but the only remarkable incident which we have seen recorded is described in the Notes of an Old Officer. The Indians came in to the treaty at Fort Washington (January, 1786,) in the most friendly manner, except the Shawanees, the most conceited and warlike of the

aborigines; the first in at a battle, the last at a treaty. Three hundred of their finest warriors, set off in all their paint and feathers, filed into the council-house. Their number and demeanor, so unusual at an occasion of this sort, was altogether unexpected and suspicious. The United States' stockade mustered 70 men. In the centre of the hall, at a little table, sat General CLARKE—the indefatigable scourge of these marauders-General Butler, and Mr. Parsons. On the part of the Indians, an old council-sachem and a war-chief took the lead. The latter, a tall, raw-boned fellow, with an impudent and villainous look, made a threatening speech, which operated effectually on the Indians, who set up a whoop at every pause. He concluded by presenting a black and white wampum, to signify their readiness for peace or war. General CLARKE retained an unaltered and careless countenance throughout, and with his cane pushed the wampum off the table. Every Indian started from his seat with one of those sudden, startling sounds which express their indignation. General CLARKE also arose, and casting upon the savage group a scornful glance, put his foot upon the insulted symbol, and ordered them to leave the hall. They did so, and all night they were heard debating near the fort. In the morning they came back, and sued for peace.

In the same year, and but a few months after the ratification of the treaties, a new army was raised, to march against the Indians on the Wabash. The nations had made peace, but the individuals would wage war, and the governments on either side of the Ohio could not control their subjects. General CLARKE, at the head of a thousand men, again entered the Indian country. Having reached the vicinity of Vincennes the troops were halted nine days, to give time for the provisions and ammunition and provisions to come up, which had been sent by water. The boats had been delayed upon the river, and when they arrived half the provision they brought was spoiled. A spirit of discontent had already manifested itself in camp, and now became more apparent. The troops were, however, put in motion, and advanced: but a rumor was circulated that the General had despatched a messenger with the offer of peace or war; this converted restlessness into disaffection among the troops, which was fomented by some of their officers into mutiny; and when within two days' march of the Indian town, three hundred men turned their backs upon the camp. The General, who saw the ruinous consequences of this revolt, addressed them in the most conciliating terms, but in vain. The expedition was abandoned; and-"General Wilkinson, who was at the falls of Ohio, wrote to a friend in Fayette, 'that the sun of

General Clarke's military glory had set, never more to rise.'" 'The author of the history of Kentucky says, "There was much meaning in this sentence, which those who had fathomed Wilkinson knew how to interpret and appreciate. Rumors were, indeed, unfavorable to General Clarke; but those rumors had been set afloat by his enemies, who wanted an apology for their own conduct; and who, in turn, were accused of fomenting the insubordination and mutiny, of which they availed themselves to terminate the campaign dishonorably. Candor, however, extorts a confession, that is made with regret, that General Clarke, at this time, 'was not the man he had been.' A high sense of injustice and neglect had been left to corrode his mind, by the government whose territory he had enlarged, and whose reputation he had raised to renown. This had produced a chagrin, which, in the mortification and ennui incident to the want of employment, had sought extinguishment in the free use of ardent spirits."

Several years elapsed before the name of General Clarke again appeared in connexion with public affairs. Meanwhile, Kentucky had become one of the States of the Union. The insolent conduct of the French minister, Genet, is known to every reader of American history. He had been in the country but a few months, when he set on foot a clandestine expedition from Kentucky against the Spanish possessions on the Mississippi, and George Rogers Clarke was furnished with a commission, as a Major-General in the armies of France, to organise and conduct it; but before the project was put in execution, a counter revolution occurred in France, Genet was recalled, his doings disavowed, and Clarke's commission annulled. Thus terminated his public career. In place of the observations to which we should be led by the varied incidents of the previous narrative, we subjoin the following extract from Judge Hall's Sketches of the West, as furnishing an appropriate commentary on the instability of fortune and the vanity of ambition.

"When General George Rogers Clarke, the Hannical of the west, captured Kaskaskia, he made his head-quarters at the house of a Mr. Michel A—, one of the wealthiest inhabitants. Michel lived in a capital French house, enveloped with piazzas and surrounded by gardens—all in the most approved style. He was a merry, contented, happy man; abounding in good living and good stories, and as hospitable as any gentleman whatever. The General remained his guest some time, treated with the greatest kindness and attention, and took leave of Mr. A—— with a high respect for his character and a grateful sense of his warm-hearted hospitality. Years rolled

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away; the General had retired from public life, and was dwelling in a humble log-house in Indiana, a disappointed man. His brilliant services had not been appreciated by his country; his political prospects had been blighted; he was unemployed and unhappy-a proud man, conscious of merit, pining away his life in obscurity. One day, as he strolled along the banks of the Ohio, he espied a circle of French boatmen, the crew of a barge, who were seated round a fire on the beach, smoking their pipes and singing their merry French songs. One voice arrested his ear-it was that of his old friend Michel; he could not mistake the blithe tones, and ever buoyant humor, of his former host. He approached, and there sat Michel in the garb of a boatman, with a red cap on his head, the merriest of the circle. They recognised each other instantly. Michel was glad to see the General, and invited him to take a seat on the log beside him with as much unembarrassed hospitality as if he had still been in his spacious house, surrounded by his train of servants. He had suddenly been reduced from affluence to poverty—from a prosperous gentleman, who lived comfortably on his estate, to a boatman-the cook, if we mistake not, of a barge. Although a man of vivacity and strong mind, he was illiterate and unsuspecting. The change of government had brought in new laws, new customs, and keener speculators than the honest French had been accustomed to deal with, and Michel was ruined. But he was as happy as ever; while his friend, the General, whose change of circumstances had not been so sudden or complete, was a moody, discontented man. Such is the diversity of national character."

General Clarke never was married. He was long in infirm health, and was severely afflicted with a rheumatic affection, which terminated in paralysis, and deprived him of the use of one limb. After suffering under this disease for several years, it finally caused his death in February 1818. He died and was buried at Locust Grove, near

Louisville, Kentucky.





Jimon Stenton



SIMON KENTON.

To many of our readers the name of General Simon Kenton is now probably presented for the first time: he belonged to a class of hardy pioneers, to whose exertions and privations the present race of civilized man in the west is greatly indebted. He was one of the first white men who planted corn in the now great and wealthy state of Kentucky; as such, we have in his biography to deal with "hair breadth 'scapes," and the usual amount of deadly warfare, which characterized the period of the early settlement of the banks of the Ohio. To preserve from oblivion the characters of men who were the instruments to prepare the way for peopling the western states, is the duty of the biographer. Simon Kenton's memory and brave conduct should be cherished, and his name should descend to posterity with those of Boon, Clark, and others.

Our hero was born in the month of March, 1755, in Fauquier county, Virginia. His father emigrated from Ireland, and his mother was of Scottish descent, her ancestors having been among the first settlers of Virginia. His parents being in middling circumstances, he was employed till the age of sixteen in the cultivation of corn and tobacco. At that period an incident occurred which changed the destiny of his future life.

One of his father's neighbors, named Veach, had a son who married a lady to whom young Kenton was attached; some circumstances occurred at the wedding, which Simon attended without invitation, that were construed by him into an affront; he was struck during the evening by William Veach, while in the act of drinking; and not content with this indignity, while prostrate from the blow, William gave him a severe beating, which sent him home with black eyes and sore bruises. He felt himself disgraced, and in silence determined to be revenged. Watching his opportunity, he soon after found himself alone with Veach, and challenged him to the combat. He would accept of no apology. Being victorious over his fallen adversary, Kenton, roused by the remembrance of

the insult to double fury, exhibited so little mercy to his foe, that when his anger was expended he was greatly alarmed at the appearance of Veach, whom he thought, from his inanimate features, must be dead Perceiving no signs of returning life, and greatly alarmed at the consequences of his blind fury, he started for home. By the way, reflection on the consequences of his conduct filled him with alarm; the horrors of punishment, and probably of the gibbet, overcame his resolution of returning, and he resolved on instant Without waiting to see and consult his parents or friends, he struck off in a northwestern direction, and crossed the Alleghany mountains on the 6th of April, 1771. At Ise's ford he changed his name to that of Simon Butler. A prey to remorse at having committed a crime so contrary to his natural disposition, he fell in with three men who were preparing to descend the Ohio river; and having previously by his labor procured a good rifle, he joined the party, and proceeded to Fort Pitt, (now Pittsburg.) Here he formed a friendship with the notorious Simon Girty, who was the means, at a future period, of his rescue from the Indians when doomed to the stake. The party he had joined being given up, Kenton associated himself with another, and descended the river, occasionally stopping at any point where pleasure or the prospect of game tempted them to halt, hunting, trapping, or dancing with the Indian girls, until they arrived at the mouth of the Great Kenawha, and thence up Elk river, where they built a camp and employed the winter in trapping. In the spring of 1772, they descended the river to the Ohio, where they sold their peltry to a French trader, and procured ammunition and clothing.

Left now for a year in doubt as to the fact of his being a mur derer, he appears to have conceived that, as he intended no such act, he was in reality not guilty; his anxiety was all turned upon those whom he had left in ignorance of his own fate. The summer of 1772 was passed in hunting, and the winter in the old camp, where in March the party was surprised by Indians, and one of their number killed; the others escaped with their lives, leaving every thing else to their enemy. With legs and bodies lacerated and inflamed, Kenton and a companion, on the sixth day, met another party near the mouth of the Kenawha, by whom they were received with kindness. Their wounds being dressed, they entered the employment of Mr. Briscoe, then endeavouring to form a settlement on the Great Kenawha, contemporaneously with the founding of Wheeling, Grave Creek, and Long Reach. Kenton again

SIMON KENTON.

employed his first earnings in procuring a good rifle, and immediately joined a trapping party and proceeded to the Ohio. After various adventures, we find him, in 1774, when an Indian war became inevitable, with the other strollers on the river retreating to Fort Pitt. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, having raised an army to chastise the aggressors, Kenton was employed as a spy to precede the troops and report the condition of the country. The army crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Hockhocking, and cautiously proceeded to the Pickaway towns, on the Scioto, where the natives sued for peace. No sooner was this granted and the troops safely ensconced in Fort Pitt, than the treaty was broken, and Colonel Lewis was sent to enforce the articles or chastise the enemy, and Kenton's services were again in requisition. On his discharge he turned to his old pursuit of trapping, in the course of which, finding a fine cane-growing tract of land back of Limestone, now Maysville, in Kentucky, the party formed a camp, and with their tomahawks commenced clearing a small piece of ground: from the remains of some corn, procured from a French trader for the purpose of parching, they selected a small quantity, and planted, it is believed, the first corn on the north side of Kentucky river. Tending their crop with no other implement than their tomahawks. they remained undisputed masters of the soil until they had the pleasure of eating roasting ears and of seeing their infant plantation produce the ripened fruit. This spot, called Kenton's station, was about one mile from the present town of Washington, in Mason county.

On making an excursion in search of buffalo, then roving in vast herds in Kentucky, he met another settler, named Stoner, who advised him to try a spot further south, and he passed the winter forty-five miles from his late residence. In the spring, the American revolution being in progress, and the natives stimulated by the British to destroy the infant settlements, the white men were obliged to flee. Kenton joined Major (afterwards General) George Rogers Clark, sent out by Virginia to protect the settlers. On their return with a party from an excursion, made to bring in a supply of ammunition that had been deposited on an island in the Ohio by Major Clark, they found the people at their fort in such a state of alarm, from a recent attack of the savages, that it was resolved to abandon it and join the station called Harrod's, where a terrible siege was sustained with unflinching courage, in the midst of alarms and carnage. Kenton again accepted the office of spy, or scout,

and by his faithful discharge of his arduous duties, proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him; he was always successful in giving the fort timely notice of a meditated attack, and to assist in preparing for defence. If we had space to describe the perilous encounters between Kenton and the Indians at this period, our narrative would present a series of daring deeds and courageous effort quite equal to the most renowned in western annals. The sufferings of the garrison were extreme; their cattle were carried off or destroyed, and neither corn nor other vegetables could be cultivated.

Kenton now accompanied Major Clark on an expedition to Okaw, or Kaskaskia, where they surprised the French commander, and took possession of the fort. He was then despatched to ascertain the strength of the fort at Vincennes, which having accomplished after three days' lurking in the neighbourhood, he sent one of his companions with the intelligence to Clark, while he and another prosecuted their journey to Harrodsburgh. He then joined several expeditions under Daniel Boon, and signalized his courage to the entire satisfaction of that celebrated pioneer.

Ease becoming irksome to our hero, in 1778, he joined Alexander Montgomery and George Clark in an expedition to Ohio, with the avowed purpose of obtaining horses from the Indians; proceeding cautiously to Chillicothe, they fell in with a drove of horses that were feeding in the rich prairies, and capturing seven, travelled at full speed for the river. On reaching the Ohio, the horses refused to breast the surge raised by a high wind. Satisfied that they were pursued, they were about to cross and leave their prizes, but unwilling to abandon their valuable capture, they were endeavouring to collect them for another attempt, when Kenton heard a whoop which alarmed him for the safety of the party. Tying his horse, he crept with stealthy tread to observe his enemy. Just as he reached the high bank he met the Indians on horseback; raising his trusty rifle, he took aim at the foremost rider; his gun flashed, and he was obliged to retreat. Amidst fallen trees, he was in a fair way to elude his pursuers, when a warrior pounced upon him, and a second slipping behind him, clasped him in his arms. Overpowered by numbers, he surrendered after a desperate resistance. Montgomery boldly attempted his rescue, but was shot, and his bloody scalp exhibited in triumph to the prisoner. Clark made his escape. The captive was treated in the usual brutal manner, tied to an unruly horse, and marched back towards the village. At night he

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was laid on his back, his legs extended, drawn apart, and fastened to two saplings or stakes, while his arms were extended and made fast to a pole. A rope was fastened round his neck and tied to another stake. In this miserable state he passed three wretched nights, a prey to gnats, mosquetoes, and the cold. On arriving at Old Town, or Chillicothe, he was beaten in the most cruel manner, and doomed to run the gauntlet. Breaking through the lines of warriors, each armed with a hickory whip, he was about to escape to the town for refuge, when an idle Indian fresh for the chase, whom he met, soon overtook and threw him. In a moment the whole party in pursuit came up, and fell to cuffing and kicking him with all their fury; his clothes were all stripped from him, and he was left naked and exhausted. Some humane squaws revived him with food, and he was taken to the council house to be tried for his life.

Sentence of death was formally passed upon the prisoner, and his place of execution it was resolved should be Wepatomika, (now Zanesville.) Next morning he was hurried away to the place of execution, and on the road was severely whipped and maltreated. Attempting to escape, he was caught and more closely pinioned; the young men rolled him in the mud, and brought him to the brink of the grave. At Wapatomika, among others who came to see him was his quondam acquaintance Simon Girty, who recognised Ken-Ton, and by his influence and eloquence in the council, persuaded the Indians to give him into his charge. With him he lived a wild, Indian-like life for some time, but the savages having returned from an unsuccessful foray, sent for Kenton, and at a grand council he was again sentenced to die, all the efforts of Girty proving on this occasion unavailing; he, however, finally persuaded them to convev their prisoner to Sandusky, where vast numbers would be collected to receive their presents from the British government; to this place he was conducted by five Indians; on the route, the compassion of the celebrated chief, Logan, was excited in his behalf, and at Logan's instigation, a Canadian Frenchman appeared at the council of Upper Sandusky, who succeeded in having him taken to Detroit and delivered up as a prisoner of war to the British.

At Detroit, Kenton was handed over to the commanding officer, and lodged in the fort as a prisoner of war. The British officer gave the Indians some remuneration for his life, and they left him free from apprehensions of the faggot and the tomahawk. His health was soon restored. Drawing half rations from the British, he earned some money by dint of hard work. Leisure from scenes

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of active life was, however, not consonant with his feelings of habits, and the winter of 1778–79 passed heavily. Among the prisoners were some of his old associates, with two of whom Kenton concerted, in the spring, a plan of escape. In this they were aided by a lady of the place, the wife of an Indian trader, named Harvey, who had formed a friendship for one of them. By her assistance, guns, ammunition, and food, were procured and secreted in a hollow tree near the town. Early one morning they left Detroit. Steering their course by the stars, they eluded pursuit and gained the prairie, where they depended for sustenance on their rifles. In thirty-three days they reached the falls of the Ohio, in July, 1779.

Kenton thence proceeded to Vincennes to join his old companion in arms, General Clark: alone he traversed the whole distance without any serious adventure; but finding the fort in a state of inglorious quiet, he returned. He distinguished himself during the invasion of Kentucky by the British and Indians in 1779, having been appointed a captain, and commanding an active and numerous company of volunteers, principally from Harrod's station, who traversed the untrodden wilderness and drove all opposition before

After the disbanding of his company, Kenton remained in the employ of the several stations till 1782. At this period he heard, for the first time, from his long-abandoned parents, and learned that William Veach had recovered and was still living. He now assumed his own name, and after commanding another successful expedition against the marauding Indians on the Great Miami, he returned to Harrod's, and having acquired some valuable lands, concluded to make a settlement on a fertile spot on Salt river. A few families joined him, reared block-houses, cleared some ground, and planted corn; which being gathered, he concluded to visit his parents. After thirteen years absence, passed amidst scenes of great privation and suffering, he had the satisfaction of finding his father and all his family living. He visited Veach, and their old quarrel was mutually forgiven. His glowing descriptions of the fertility of Kentucky induced his parents to accompany him on his return, and the family set out for the promised land, but his father died ere their journey was accomplished. Kenton remained at Salt river till July, 1784, and had the pleasure of witnessing the growth of his settlement, to which numerous emigrants now flocked. He thence removed to near Maysville, where he formed the first permanent

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station on the northeast side of Licking river. Throngs of emigrants were attracted to the spot: the Indians were successfully kept at bay by the activity and intelligence of the master spirit of Kenton, who was ever foremost when danger threatened, and who was looked up to as the main dependence in case of difficulty or discouragement. His opponent was sometimes the celebrated chief Tecumseh, whose tact and intrepidity it was not always in the power of our veteran to conquer.

In 1793, General Wayne came down the Ohio with the regular army, and formed an encampment below Cincinnati, called Hobson's choice. Making a requisition for men on Kentucky, Kenton was, among the number, placed as a major at the head of as choice spirits as ever guarded a frontier, and was employed in various services. As little was effected by this party, our narrative need not be detained in relating the particular events of the campaign. The Indian war was now happily terminated, and an unprecedented number of emigrants were attracted to the shores of the Ohio. Land became valuable; and as there was great irregularity and want of precision in the first entries and surveys, the foundation was laid for those subsequent disputes which have given occasion to a series of litigation, involving the hard-earned estates of the original settlers too frequently in ruin. Although Kenton was considered one of the wealthiest inhabitants in real estate, yet one of his land claims failed after another, till he was completely involved in a labyrinth of lawsuits. Every advantage was taken of his want of education and ignorance of the law, which in a few years stripped this honest man of his hardly-earned wealth, and sent him, in the evening of his days, penniless and dejected, to spend his few remaining years in comparative poverty and want.

About the year 1800, he abandoned the soil which he had rendered tenantable by his courage and endurance, and settled on the waters of the Mad river, in the state of Ohio. In 1805, he was made a brigadier-general of militia. In 1810, he joined the Methodist church, and experienced that consolation which religion alone can impart.

In 1812, when more than sixty years of age, some of his youthful fire still remained, and he was wont to converse with spirit of his former deeds of arms. In 1813, when his old companion, Governor Shelby, came to Urbana at the head of the Kentucky troops, Kenton could remain no longer inactive. He mounted his horse and joined the venerable governor, who gladly received him as a privi-

leged member of his military family. He crossed the lake, and accompanied General Harrison and Governor Shelby to Malden, and thence to the Thames; was present in the battle, and played his part with his usual intrepidity. Here ended the military career of Simon Kenton, a man who has probably passed through as great a variety of border adventures as any of our most renowned western pioneers.

About ten years since, the American government awarded Kenton a meager pension, which secured him from absolute want in his declining years. His narrative, had it been prepared at length with suitable care, would have formed a volume not less interesting than the most marvellous fiction. Enough has been here related to exhibit the outlines of a character remarkable for its power of endurance and its intrepidity. Like all the hardy sons of the west, Kenton's hospitality was always commensurate with his means: during his prosperity his house was open to the wealthy emigrant and the benighted traveller. Many of the descendants of the earlier settlers still cherish the memory of his virtues.

The portrait from which our engraving has been made, and which is certified by the immediate friends and neighbours of General Kenton to be a most accurate likeness, was taken at his residence expressly for this work, and but about three months before his death.

This stanch pioneer, the companion of Boon, whose adventures he emulated and equalled, died in Logan county, Ohio, on the 3d day of April, 1836, aged about eighty-two. How astonishing is it, when we look over Kentucky, Ohio, and the surrounding states, now teeming with millions of civilized inhabitants, to reflect that one who wandered through them when beasts of prey and the more savage Indian were their sole occupants, has but just fallen into the grave!





Johna Barney





JOSHUA BARNEY.

THE reputation of her citizens should be dear to every member of the The number and merit of their services is, indeed, often the only patrimony of their children, but the effect of their example cannot pass away, whilst Honor continues to point to their deeds, in the pages of the history of their country. No state has produced more or brighter examples of bravery and patriotism than the gallant state of Maryland, where the subject of this notice was born, on the 6th of July, 1759, at Baltimore. He discovered early an inclination for the sea, and after making several voyages, was second mate at the early age of fourteen years, and was, by the accidental death of his captain, placed in command of a vessel when only sixteen. A series of adventures, having the character more of romance than reality, attended this sudden and early responsibility, not the least singular of which was his detention at Alicant, and his compulsory service in the ill-conducted and disastrous expedition fitted out against Algiers by the king of Spain, and entrusted to the unfortunate Count O'Reilly. Released by the defeat of the Spaniards, he returned home, arrived in the Chesapeake Bay on the 1st of October, 1775, and learned from the officers of a British sloop of war, who boarded him, that that Revolution which was to call forth in him a devotion to native land that has never been surpassed, was already begun. His services were quickly offered to his country; he became master's mate of the sloop Hornet, of ten guns, and was the first to unfurl, in Maryland, the American flag, whose honor he afterwards so often and so well sustained. This, his first service, was as a volunteer, and he continued to act as such until his appointment as lieutenant in the navy, which took place in June, 1776.

On the 6th of July, 1776, Lieutenant Barney sailed from Philadelphia in the sloop Sachem, commanded by Captain Isaiah Robinson, and very soon fell in with and captured a letter of marque brig, well

armed, after a very severe action of two hours. Transferred to the Andrea Doria, of fourteen guns, in consequence of the shattered condition of the Sachem, Captain Robinson and Lieutenant BARNEY sailed again from the port of Philadelphia, into which they had been so fortunate as to bring their prize, for St. Eustatia, took in a cargo of small arms and ammunition for the army, engaged and captured the Racehorse of twelve guns, fitted out expressly with a picked crew to intercept and take the Andrea Doria, and commanded by a lieutenant of the royal navy. It became his lot, however, to be taken prisoner by the enemy in January, 1777-a prize, on board of which he was prize-master, being retaken by the Perseus, of twenty guns, then cruising off Cape Henry. He was carried into Charleston, South Carolina, and there released on his parole. Upwards of eight months passed before his exchange for Lieutenant Moriarty of the Solebay was effected; a period of time not unprofitably spent, for it was devoted to study.

In December, 1777, Lieutenant Barney was appointed to the Virginia frigate, and remained in her till her capture, on the 1st of April following, by the British squadron in the Chesapeake. Another period of imprisonment—an exchange and return to Baltimore, were the precursors of new adventures, among which two engagements—the capture of a British letter of marque and a voyage to France—were the most important, particularly the last; for that resulted in pecuniary benefit, and probably led him to form the most important connection of his life. He married the daughter of Gunning Bed-

ford, Esq., of Philadelphia, on the 16th of March, 1780.

After remaining some time ashore, Lieutenant Barney was ordered to the United States' ship Saratoga, of sixteen guns, Captain Young, and sailed from Philadelphia on a cruise. Various prizes were made, and, among others, an English ship of thirty-two guns and ninety men, carried by Lieutenant Barney, who boarded her with fifty men under the smoke of a broadside; and after a severe conflict, hauled down her colors. Ordered to bring his prize in, he steered for the Delaware; but after stopping a formidable leak in her, he was captured by a squadron of the enemy, landed at Plymouth in England, after enduring treatment that was never forgotten, and confined in Mill Prison.

Our limits do not permit us to relate the various adventures which followed a well-laid and successfully conducted plan of escape. After remaining some time at large in England, he reached Margate, took passage in a packet for Ostend, and finally reached the

JOSHUA BARNEY.

Beverly, Massachusetts. He arrived in Philadelphia on the 21st of March, 1782.

We approach the best known, if it be not at the same time the most brilliant, exploit of his life. The tories, with numerous craft, had a force sufficient, aided by the presence of several British men of war, to cause the greatest annoyance, during the spring of 1782, to the commerce of Philadelphia. The state of Pennsylvania undertook to destroy these freebooters, and a force was organized under her authority for that purpose. The offer of one of the vessels, a small ship carrying sixteen six pounders and a hundred and ten men, equipped principally through the liberality and enterprise of citizens of Philadelphia, was made to Lieutenant BARNEY, who took command of her a few days after his return home. This vessel was the "Hyder Ally." She sailed on the 8th of April, 1782, with a fleet of merchantmen, under instructions to convoy them to the Capes, and then to return for the protection of the Delaware. Upon reaching Cape May road, the convoy were approached by two ships and a brig of the enemy's forces, and immediately got under weigh in obedience to a signal, and began to run up the bay. The brig first approached, and gave the Hyder Ally a broadside, and passed on after the merchantmen. The broadside was not returned, as one of the enemy's ships was fast approaching—into her, as soon as she came within pistol shot, Captain Barney poured a tremendous fire; and, as she was ranging alongside, by a prompt manœuvre, caught her jib-boom in the Hyder Ally's fore rigging, thus obtaining a position which enabled him to rake her with such effect, that in twenty-six minutes her colors were struck. The enemy's other ship (the Quebec frigate) was by this time very near, and the first lieutenant of the Hyder Ally and thirty-five men were quickly put on board the prize, which was despatched with all speed up the bay. Having outsailed the frigate, the prize was hailed by Captain BARNEY, who found her to be his Britannic Majesty's ship the "General Monk," mounting twenty nine pounders, with a crew of one hundred and thirty-six men, commanded by Captain Josiah Rodgers of the royal navy. The General Monk had twenty men killed, including the first lieutenant, purser, surgeon, boatswain, and gunner; and thirty-three wounded, among whom were Captain Rodgers and all the officers of the ship, with the exception of one midshipman. The loss on board the Hyder Ally was four men killed, and eleven were wounded. Captain BAR-NEY escaped unhurt, though a musket ball passed through his hat and another tore his coat.

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The mortification of the British at this capture was extreme;* the triumph of the Americans was expressed in congratulatory addresses; the legislature of Pennsylvania passed a vote of thanks to Captain Barney, and also presented him, in the name of the state, with a sword, superbly mounted with gold, and bearing the proper emblematic representation of his victory. The ballads of the day—for in those days they wrote ballads—celebrated his valor and good conduct; and there were few to whom the fame of "the roaring Hyder Ally" and her gallant commander was unknown.

The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania authorized the purchase of the General Monk, and her name being changed to that of the "General Washington," Captain BARNEY was commissioned as her commander on the 16th of May, 1782. He proceeded in her to Havana upon an important service; and, having accomplished it, returned to Philadelphia, where he arrived in safety, after having the satisfaction of making a successful attack upon a number of refugee barges in the Delaware Bay, sinking and destroying them, and recapturing a number of vessels of which they had taken possession.

Selected, in October, 1782, to carry out to Dr. Franklin the instructions of his own government before the British commissioners should arrive at Paris, Captain BARNEY passed the British force at the mouth of the Delaware, and arrived in seventeen days at L'Orient. He returned to Philadelphia on the 12th of March, 1783, bearing the news of peace—having been furnished with the king of Great Britain's passport for the "ship General Washington, belonging to the United States of North America."

Peace brought with it occupations of a character widely different from those in which Captain Barney had been accustomed to be engaged. He was appointed to civil office, but the sea seemed his element; and in the summer of 1790 he projected a voyage to South America, and was engaged in various enterprizes of a commercial nature until 1793, when his ship, the Sampson, was taken, on the 14th of July, by three privateers from Jamaica and New Providence. The firmness and decision of character for which he was so remarkable, soon evinced itself in the recapture of his vessel, five days after her capture, with the aid of his carpenter and boatswain, after a short conflict, in which he wounded one of the three English prize officers

^{*} It seems to have lasted for almost half a century. See the account of the action in Warner's Literary Recollections, Vol. I. p. 324, London, 1830. He describes the action as "long and desperate—tremendous was the carnage on both sides;" and avers that Captain Rodgers's antagonist was "greatly his superior in tonnage, guns, and men."

JOSHUA BARNEY.

severely. He arrived in Baltimore early in August, bringing his English captors with him.

Having made the proper disposition of his late prisoners, Captain Barney sailed for Cape François, to arrange his unsettled business in the Island of St. Domingo. Having settled it, he sailed on the last of December, 1793, from Port au Prince, for Baltimore, and the next day was captured by the British frigate Penelope, Captain Rowley, who, after behaving to him in a manner to lessen the fame of his country's service, carried him and his captured vessel, the Sampson, into Jamaica. The Grand Jury of the Admiralty Court found a bill against him for Piracy, and another for "shooting with intent to kill," founded upon the recapture of his own vessel, and wounding one of the captors, as has been already related. He was. however, triumphantly acquitted by the jury; but his ship's cargo was condemned as prize by the judge in the proceedings against them. It must not be supposed that during these unexampled proceedings against him he was forgotten by his country or his friends. The statement which Captain BARNEY made of his case called forth the prompt interference of his government. A vigorous remonstrance was addressed by the secretary of state to the British minis ter on the subject, -General Washington declared his determination to avenge any punishment inflicted upon him by the most prompt retaliation—and he granted a special permission to a pilot boat from Baltimore, manned with volunteers and despatched by his friends. to proceed to his relief; an embargo, laid on all the ports of the United States, having rendered such permission necessary. After intolerable suffering and fatigue, the crew of the pilot boat arrived in her at Jamaica, and the despatches they carried to the governor from the British minister produced a change in the personal treatment of Captain Barney, but they did not restore his property.

After his return to Baltimore, Captain BARNEY was appointed to command one of the six vessels authorized by congress, which formed the then navy of the United States. The letter of the secretary of war, announcing his appointment to him, stated the relative rank of the captains to be John Barry, Samuel Nicholson, Silas Talbot, Joshua Barney, Richard Dale, Thomas Truxton. This appointment he declined on the 7th of June, 1794, the day he received notice of it, on the ground that the appointment placed him in order of rank below Silas Talbot, who had been a lieutenant colonel in the army, but was without any experience as a naval officer.

Being thus at liberty to attend to his private affairs, Captain BARNEY

sailed for France, to settle, if possible, some of the claims on the government of that country arising out of his former St. Domingo voyages. He was a fellow-passenger with Mr. Monroe, then minister to that country, who, on the 14th of September, 1794, selected him as the bearer of the American flag presented to the National This body decreed that he should be employed in the navy of the Republic; and, just before his return to the United States, he was offered, by the minister of marine, the command of the Alexander, a seventy-four gun ship, not long before taken from the British-a circumstance to him of no trifling import; but his private affairs prevented him from accepting the flattering offer, and until they were arranged he declined an appointment. Subsequently he received the appointments of Capitaine de Vaisseau, and Chef de Division des Armées Navales, and before the end of May, 1795, he sailed from Rochfort with two fine frigates, La Harmonie of fortyfour guns, on board of which he hoisted his flag, and La Railleuse of thirty-six guns, bound for St. Domingo. He continued in the French service, actively and efficiently engaged, and encountering constant peril and adventure, until 1802, when he resigned; and after having received ample testimony of the merit of his services, returned to the United States in October of that year.

To arrange affairs left during eight years' absence to the care of others, and to establish himself at home for the rest of his days, became the immediate object of Commodore Barney's attention. In the year 1804, the sentence of the court at Jamaica condemning the Sampson and her cargo, was reversed, and their value ordered to be restored; and in the course of the following year he received a handsome remittance from Paris on account of his claims upon the French Government.

The attack upon the Chesapeake frigate excited in Commodore Barney, in a high degree, the feelings which pervaded the nation at the outrageous insult offered to it; and on that occasion he wrote to Mr. Jefferson, the president of the United States, to offer his services, asking to be "employed in any manner which might be thought conducive to the good of his country"—an offer which he repeated to Mr. Madison in 1809.

The declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812, found Commodore Barney on his farm, in Anne Arundel county (Md.); but he remained there a very short time. Less than three weeks after its annunciation, he was on board an armed vessel, the Rossie, of ten guns, in which, during a short cruise, he did the enemy incredible

JOSHUA BARNEY.

damage, and captured a letter of marque and a king's packet, the latter after a severe action.

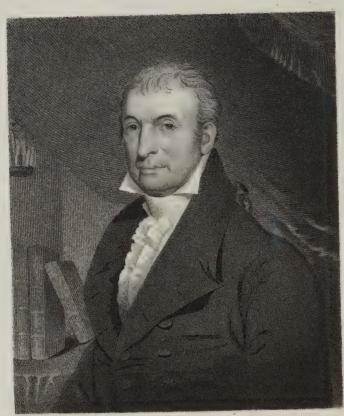
The command of the Flotilla, fitted out at Baltimore to protect the Chesapeake Bay, was offered to him in 1813, but he was unable to commence his operations till April 1814. He engaged the British forces sent against him from the squadron on the 1st, 7th, 9th, and 10th of June following, with great gallantry and very decisive effect. These engagements were but the prelude to more serious operations. The British had determined to attack Baltimore and Washington; and with the view to be within reach of either place on the occasion of an attempt upon it, Commodore Barney moved his flotilla up the Patuxent as far as Nottingham, a village on that river about forty miles from Washington, where he learned, on the 16th of August, that the enemy had entered and were ascending the river. The orders of the secretary of the navy, to whom he commu nicated the intelligence by express, were, to run the flotilla as far up the river as possible, and upon the enemy landing, to destroy it, and march to join General Winder's army with the men.

The British landed on the 21st of August at Benedict, and directed the march of their forces upon Washington. Upon receiving intelligence of their approach, Commodore BARNEY landed with upwards of four hundred men, leaving about a hundred men to blow up the flotilla, then a short distance above Pig Point, if attacked, and likely to fall into the hands of the enemy. On the 22d of August he joined General Winder's army at the Woodyard, where he found Captain Miller,* with eighty marines and five pieces of heavy artillery, placed under his command by the secretary of the navy. On the 24th of August he marched to Bladensburg, and pressing on, he found the American forces drawn up, and covering the road for some distance west of the town, and shortly after they became engaged with the British. He formed his own men, and arranged his artillery in battery. and had scarcely so done before the enemy appeared in the road, and advanced upon him. He opened his fire upon them with admirable precision, and such destructive effect, as to drive them from the road at the first discharge; they rallied and returned, but it was to meet the same result. They turned off to a field on their left, with the view to avoid the battery and continue their advance; but Commodore BARNEY, observing the movement, directed the marines under Captains Miller and Sevier, and the flotilla men acting as infantry,

to charge them, whilst he poured a destructive fire upon their flank. The charge was executed with great celerity and determination; the veterans of the 86th and 4th, or "King's Own," giving way before it, and flying, pursued by their assailants-the sailors crying out to "board them,"—until they got into a ravine covered with woods, leaving their wounded officers, among whom was Colonel Thornton, who had led them on, in the possession of the Americans. It would have been well for the honor of America, if all who were present on that day had behaved with the same decision and effect as Commodore BARNEY and his command; but whilst they were sustaining the credit of their country, the other troops had disappeared; and in the confusion of their retreat, the wagon containing the ammunition for his cannon and small arms had been carried off. The British light troops acting en tirailleur, had, in consequence of the total absence of any support, gained positions on his flanks near enough to produce effect with their fire, and to wound and kill several of his best officers-Captains Miller and Sevier had both been wounded in charging the enemy; and Commodore BARNEY himself, after having had his horse killed under him, received a musket ball in the thigh. The force of the enemy was constantly increasing, for the want of ammunition prevented the only effective resistance they had met with from being continued; and an order was given to retreat, which the officers and men who were able to march effected in excellent order; but the Commodore's wound rendered him unable to move, and he was made prisoner. He was treated by General Ross with great attention and care, paroled upon the ground, and conveyed to Bladensburg, where he remained until the 27th of August, when he was conveyed to his farm at Elkridge.

On the 8th of October, 1814, Commodore Barney was exchanged, and on the 10th resumed the command of the flotilla; but the news of peace, received in February, 1815, rendered his services no longer necessary to his country. With the exception of a voyage to Europe as the bearer of despatches, selected by the president, to the American plenipotentiaries, he returned no more to public life; unless the appointment of naval officer at Baltimore, which he received in November, 1817, from President Monroe, can be so termed. His latter years were occupied in the settlement of his claims to a body of valuable lands in Kentucky, to which state he was preparing to remove when he was seized with a bilious fever at Pittsburg in Pennsylvania, where he died, on the 1st of December, 1818, at the age of fifty-nine.





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LUTHER MARTIN.

LUTHER MARTIN, a lawyer, distinguished alike for his eccentric habits, his powerful genius, and his vast legal acquirements, was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in the year 1744. His ancestors were natives of England. Two of their descendants, who were brothers, removed from New England, and established their residence in that section of the country adjoining the river Rariton, upon the east of New Brunswick, calling the township in which they had located Piscataqua, from the name of the town whence they emigrated. They were by occupation farmers, and having obtained large grants of land in New Jersey, removed their domestic establishment there when a greater part of the Colonial domain was a dense wilderness.

LUTHER was the third of nine children, and his time was generally divided, during his early boyhood, between the duties of his father's family and the acquisition of knowledge. In 1757, in the month of August, he was sent to a grammar school, where he learned the rudiments of the Latin language; and in September, five years after, he was graduated at Nassau Hall, Princeton, in a class of thirty-five, with the highest collegiate honors. At that institution he laid the foundation of his subsequent greatness, and with his other classical exercises pursued the study of the French and Hebrew languages.

Among his friends and associates in Princeton were J. Habersham, Esq., the Right Rev. Bishop Clagget of Maryland, the celebrated Pierpoint Edwards, and Oliver Ellsworth. His parents, however were indigent, and they were enabled, consequently, to bestow upon this son a liberal education only; "a patrimony," he remarks, "for which my heart beats toward them a more grateful remembrance than had they bestowed upon me the gold of Peru or the gems of Golconda."* As an equivalent for the additional labor which

^{*} Modern Ingratitude, in five numbers, by Luther Martin, Esq. of Maryland. p. 134.

his two elder brothers had undergone for the support of his father's family while he was receiving the benefits of a liberal education, he conveyed to them, as soon as the laws permitted his disposition of the estate, a small tract of land which had been granted him by his

grandfather for his own support.

Upon his graduation from college, having fixed upon the legal profession as his choice, against which, however, his family entertained the strongest prejudices, upon the second day after his commencement, and when he was scarcely nineteen years of age, determining to be no longer a burden to his family, he departed, in company with two or three friends, on horseback, and with but a few dollars in his pocket, for Cecil county, near Octorara Creek in the state of Maryland, in order to be employed as an assistant in a school, which he had learned was just deprived of a teacher, and which was under the management of the Rev. Mr. Hunt, to whom he carried letters of recommendation. Before his arrival the place was occupied. He was received with great hospitality by this gentleman however, who, conjointly with his other friends, advised him to proceed immediately to Queenstown, Queen Ann's county, where a vacancy had just occurred in the common school of that place. Carrying to that county letters of introduction to the board of trustees, among whom was Edward Tighlman, (father of the distinguished Edward Tighlman, Esq. of Philadelphia,) as well as to many of the most distinguished gentlemen in the neighborhood, he was engaged, after the ordinary examination, to take charge of the school.

His object in entering upon this employment was, to acquire a support while pursuing the study of the law. Here he remained in the capacity of a preceptor until April, 1770. During this period he made many valuable acquaintances, among whom was Solomon Wright, Esq., the father of the Hon. Mr. Wright, late senator of the United States, who gave him the advantage of his library, and received him in all respects as a member of his family. For several years he had little relaxation from the most vigorous industry. His means were scanty, as the meagre profits of his school were his sole support. His improvident habits of expenditure brought him eventually into debt; and upon his expressing his determination to relinquish the business of an instructor, and to devote one year exclusively to the study of the law, he was arrested upon five different warrants of attachment. In fact, a want of economy in his pecuniary affairs was prominent through life, and frequently brought upon him the most unpleasant consequences. On this subject he somewhat quaintly

LUTHER MARTIN.

remarks respecting himself—"I am not even yet, I was not then, nor have I ever been, an economist of any thing but time."*

In 1771, through the kind agency of George Wythe, the former chancellor of the state of Virginia, and the Hon. John Randolph, he was admitted to the bar, continued his legal studies until 1772, and then proceeded to Williamsburgh, where the general court was in session, and remained in that place until it terminated. Here he formed many valuable acquaintances, among whom may be mentioned Patrick Henry, the great orator of the Revolution.

He soon after commenced the practice of the law in Accomack and Northampton, in Virginia, and was admitted as an attorney in the courts of Somerset and Worcester, which held their sessions four times a year. He made his residence in Somerset, where he soon acquired a full and lucrative practice, amounting, as he informs us, to about one thousand pounds per annum; which, however, was after a period diminished by the disturbances growing out of the American Revolution. At this time he was occasionally employed in causes of Admiralty jurisdiction, involving interests of great magnitude, and also in some important appeals to the Congress of the United States. A Criminal court had just been established at Williamsburgh, and Mr. Martin was employed as counsel for thirty prisoners, twenty-nine of whom were acquitted. His talents were at this time fully appreciated, and he was regarded as one of the most able lawyers at the bar at which he practised.

In 1774, while attending the courts in Virginia, he was appointed one of a committee for the county to oppose the claims of Great Britain, and also a member of the Convention which was called at Annapolis to resist the usurpations of the British crown. He threw the whole strength of his manly vigor, courage, and iron firmness into the cause of American freedom, and opposed these claims with extraordinary boldness at a period, to use his own words, "throughout which not only myself, but many others, did not lie down one night on their beds without the hazard of waking on board a British armed ship or in the other world." When the Howes were on the way to Chesapeak Bay, they published a manifesto, or proclamation, addressed to the people of that part of the United States, against which they were directing their military operations. This proclamation was answered in an address to the Howes by Luther Mar

TIN. He also, about the same time, published an address, directed "to the inhabitants of the Peninsula between the Delaware river and the Chesapeak to the southward of the British lines," which was

distributed among them in printed hand-bills.

Upon the 11th of February, 1778, he was appointed, through th advice of Judge Chace, Attorney General of the state of Maryland; in which office his remarkable firmness, professional knowledge, and uncompromising energy, were most strikingly exhibited in prosecuting the Tories and the confiscation of their goods. No other man, in fact, could be found at that time of sufficient hardihood and firmness to fill this office. LUTHER MARTIN was called upon at this crisis, and he met it with a manliness of decision and a determined power, which left no room for fear; coming down upon this class of men with an iron hand, and bringing to bear upon them all the powers of the government in order to effect their total defeat and overthrow. In performing the duties of his office in other respects, he exhibited the same vigorous and unquailing determination. On one occasion, for his promptitude in prosecuting a man of great respect, ability, and influence, who was indicted for the murder of an Irishman, he was voted, by the friends of the murdered man, a massive service of silver plate, which, from official considerations, he refused to accept.

He continued in the office of Attorney-General during a long period, constantly augmenting his reputation as an advocate and jurist. The office was conferred on him originally without his solicitation, and his commission found him at Accomack, giving directions to work-

men who were engaged in the manufacture of salt.

As a demonstration of his powers of mind, as well as his great lega. acquirements, it may be remarked, that he stood among the brightest and strongest at a bar, which numbered among its members a brilliant constellation, composed of such men as Harper, Winder, Chase,

Wirt, and Pinkney.

In 1783 he was married to a Miss Cresap of Old Town in the state of Maryland, who was the grand-daughter of Col. Cresap, against whom the charge was brought by Mr. Jefferson of having murdered the Indian family of Logan. This charge originated a long controversy between the latter gentleman and Mr. MARTIN, which were carried on through divers inflammatory pamphlets.

During the whole course of his practice at the bar he was a violent politician, and wrote for the press several pungent essays against

what was then denominated the Democratic party.

In 1804 he was engaged, conjointly with Mr. Harper, in the de-

LUTHER MARTIN.

fence of Judge Chase, then one of the justices of the Superior Court of the United States, who was impeached in the house of Representatives, upon eight articles, for malfeasance in office. After a powerful argument in his behalf, Judge Chase was acquitted; a constitutional majority not having been found against him upon a singlarticle.

Aaron Burr, that able though ill-fated man, was at this period the personal and political friend of Mr. Martin. He had just broken away from his brilliant career, and public opinion had branded him as a traitor. In 1807, his trial for treason "in preparing the means of a military expedition against Mexico, a territory of the king of Spain, with whom the United States were at peace," occurred in the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Virginia. Messrs. Wickham, Wirt, Randolph, and Martin, were engaged upon this cause, which involved interests of vast importance, and principles of constitutional law of great magnitude. Mr. Martin appeared in defence of his friend, who, as every body knows, was acquitted. During the whole course of the trial Mr. Martin demonstrated himself to be the steadfast friend of Aaron Burr, and entered into a recognisance for his appearance, from day to day, before the bar of court.

In 1814 Mr. Martin was appointed chief judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer for the city and county of Baltimore, and fulfilled its duties with considerable rigor, though with great success, until a new state law made it necessary for him to relinquish his seat upon the bench. In 1818 he was again qualified as attorney-general of the state and district attorney for the city of Baltimore; but his declining health prevented him from attending in person to his official duties.

From that period to the time of his death, his mind and body were gradually impaired by disease, and a paralytic stroke, with which he was soon after attacked, almost destroyed his physical and intellectual powers. Suffering in his old age under the goadings of penury, he removed to the city of New-York, to take advantage of the hospitality of his old friend and client, Aaron Burr, who faithfully paid him the last rites of kindness, in the imbecillity of his age, in return for the valuable services which Martin had rendered him, both in money and talent, when he was in the full vigor and glory of manhood.

LUTHER MARTIN died at New-York, from the mere decay of nature, on the evening of the 10th of July, 1826, aged 82 years.

The information of his death having reached Baltimore, the bench and the bar immediately convened in the court house of that city; and on motion of the Honorable John Purviance, it was "Resolved, that we hear with great sensibility of the death of our venerable brother, the former attorney-general of Maryland, and the patriarch of the profession, Luther Martin; and that, as a testimony of just regard for his memory, and great respect for his exalted talents and profound learning, we will wear mourning for the space of

thirty days."

As a lawyer, Mr. Martin was learned, clear, solid, and second to no man among his competitors. In fact he shone far above his contemporaries in the accuracy of his knowledge and the clearness of his forensic arguments. He had drawn his legal attainments, like Pinkney, from the great fountains of jurisprudence; and was content to exhibit them only in the light of that reason, which, Sir Edward Coke declares, "is the life of the law." Of his general powers at the bar, his unbroken success and his exalted reputation abroad, are plain demonstrations. His mind was so completely stored with the principles of legal science, and his professional accuracy was so generally acknowledged, that his mere opinion was considered law, and is now deemed sound authority before any American tribunal. His cast of mind was less brilliant than solid. He ordinarily commenced his efforts at the bar with a long, desultory, tedious exordium. seemed to labor amid the vast mass of general matters at the commencement of his speeches, sometimes continuing for an hour in a confused essay, and then suddenly springing off upon his track with a strong, cogent, and well-compacted argument. His address at the bar was not good, nor was his voice agreeable; consequently the value of his forensic efforts is based more upon the fortiter in re, than the suaviter in modo; more upon matter than manner. sensitiveness of his feelings frequently led him to acrimonious expressions against his antagonists. He was accustomed, from the fashion of the age, to use a considerable quantity of the stimulus of ardent spirit; and we have been credibly informed that he has delivered some of his most powerful and splendid arguments under its strongest excitement.

He was a man of warm heart and generous feelings, and to prove this, numerous examples of his benevolence might be cited; but in the discharge of his official duties he was rigorous and unyielding.

Before closing this article, we must add that Mr. MARTIN was opposed to the adoption of the present constitution of the United States.

LUTHER MARTIN.

As a member of the Convention by which that instrument was framed. he combatted it in its earliest stages; and when it was committed to the states for their approval, he addressed a long argument to the legislature of Maryland, which was intended to dissuade the people of that state from adopting it. This argument concluded with the following words-" Whether, Sir, in the variety of appointments, and in the scramble for them, I might not have as good a prospect to advantage myself as many others, it is not for me to say; but this, Sir, I can say with truth, that so far was I from being influenced in my conduct by interest, or the consideration of office, that I would cheerfully resign the appointment I now hold; I would bind myself never to accept another, either under the general government or that of my own state: I would do more, Sir, so destructive do I consider the present system to the happiness of my country. I would cheerfully sacrifice that share of property with which heaven has blessed a life of industry. I would reduce myself to indigence and poverty; and those who are dearer to me than my own existence, I would entrust to the care and protection of that providence who hath so kindly protected myself, if on those terms only I could procure my country to reject those chains which are forged for it."* Mr. MARTIN's violent opposition to the proposed frame of government was unsuccessful, but it most probably caused a more deliberate examination and approval than might have been deemed necessary had it not been so powerfully assailed.

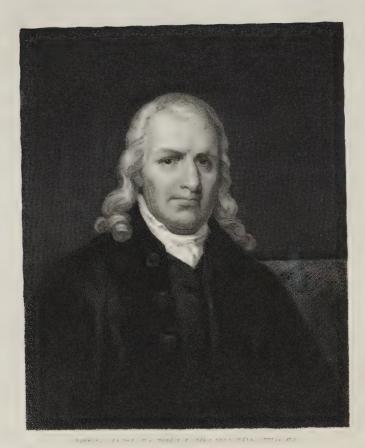
Mr. Martin's personal appearance, as well as his mind, were alike extraordinary. He often appeared walking in the street with his legal documents close to his eyes for perusal—wholly abstracted from the world and absorbed in his profession. He was little above the ordinary size of men, but strong and muscular, although not very broad, in form. He usually wore a brown or blue dress, with ruffles around the wrists after the ancient fashion, and his hair tied behind hanging below the collar of his coat.

LUTHER MARTIN was undoubtedly one of the ablest lawyers which our country has produced, and his name will descend to posterity among the brightest of those, who have gained their reputation strictly at the bar, and in connection with causes which can never be detached from our national annals; but there are others of the same profession with natural and acquired talents certainly not superior to his, whose

^{*} Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Federal Convention, pages 93, 94.

fame will probably occupy a broader space, merely from the fact, that the stage on which they play their part is more conspicuous than that on which he acted his.





Samuel Chases





SAMUEL CHASE.

The Rev. Thomas Chase, the father of the subject of these pages, was the only son of Samuel Chase, of a highly respectable family in Great Britain. At the age of eighteen Thomas was sent to Eaton College, where, by his close application and untiring zeal, he became a proficient in the Latin and Hebrew languages, and soon after he received the honors of the College. The professorship of those languages was tendered to him, which he gladly accepted, as his father had lately suffered some loss in his pecuniary affairs.

In 1738 he fled from the persecution of Cromwell to the Island of Jamaica, where he practised physic, which science he had studied during his leisure hours at Eaton. He remained in Jamaica but a few months, whence he sailed to the American Colonies; and Somerset County, Maryland, was the place he chose for his residence.

In January, 1740, he was married to Matilda Walker, the daughter of a respectable farmer. The fruit of this union was one son; and the day that presented Mr. Chase an heir deprived him of his amiable helpmeet.

In 1743 Mr. T. Chase was honored with the appointment of rector of St. Paul's parish in Baltimore, whither he removed with his infant son, who had received the name of Samuel.

Deprived of the tender care of a mother, Samuel was the sole object of his father's love, and under the direction of this kind parent he received his education.

At the age of eighteen he went to Annapolis, where he studied law under the direction of John Hammond and John Hall; and in 1761 he was admitted to the Provincial Courts.

The year following he was married to Miss Anne Baldwin of Annapolis, a lady of distinguished merit, pious, amiable, affable and courteous. This union was blessed with six children, the objects of the love and pride of their parents. Samuel Chase, his second son,

became a judge in the District of Columbia, and was very highly esteemed.

Mr. Chase soon became distinguished as a lawyer, and engaged with great zeal in opposing the odious and oppressive measures of Great Britain.

In 1794 he commenced his public life in the General Assembly of Maryland, and was an active member of that body for upwards of

twenty years.

He was among the first opposers of the Stamp Act, and engaged, in the most decisive manner, to frustrate its malignant effects. He was one of the framers of the famous "Declaration of Rights of Maryland," and its firm supporter.

His leisure hours were also devoted to his country, in arousing the

people to a sense of their wrongs by essays and pamphlets.

In 1774 he was chosen a delegate to the first Congress.

In 1776 he was again chosen to represent Maryland in the general Congress; and it may be said that Maryland, who had refused her consent, was induced by his entreaties to unite in declaring the United States free and independent.

His whole conduct in this Assembly was marked by activity and zeal, and a firm adherence to the principles of liberty breathed forth in

the Declaration of Independence.

The name of Chase is found on many of the most important com-

mittees, and he was always at his post.

In 1782 he was appointed by the Governor of Maryland, Agent and Trustee of the State of Maryland to recover the stock in the Bank of England owned by the State; and for this purpose he proceeded to England, where he remained one year, enjoying the intimacy of Fox, Pitt, Burke, and other great luminaries of the day. It would not be amiss here to state that the late William Pinckney was a student in his office at this time. Young Pinckney styled Mr. Chase his "Patron and his Friend."

In March, 1783, Mr. Chase was married to Miss Hannah Kilty Giles, of London, by whom he had two daughters; the eldest, Eliza, the widow of Dr. Skipwith Coale, afterwards resided in Baltimore; and Mary, his second daughter, was married to the eldest son of Commodore Barney, and proved herself an American matron, worthy to be the daughter of Judge Chase and daughter-in-law of a hero.

In 1786 the liberality of the late Col. John Eager Howard induced

him to remove to Baltimore.

In 1791 he was appointed Judge of the General Court of Maryland,

SAMUEL CHASE.

and in 1793 he received the appointment of Judge of the Criminal Court for Baltimore County; but it being thought unconstitutional to hold these two offices, he resigned his seat in the General Court.

In 1796 General Washington offered him a seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. It was in the discharge of his duties in this Court that faction armed his opponents, and he was arraigned at the bar of his country to defend his slandered character. His defence on this occasion has been pronounced the most able production of the bar of this country; Aaron Burr, then Vice-President of the United States, presided at this trial; and the even-handed justice he dealt out was always a subject of praise by Mr. Chase.

The late Chief Justice Marshall, in a letter dated May 6th, 1834, to one of Judge Chase's descendants, writes of Judge Chase:—

"He possessed a strong mind, great legal knowledge, and was a valuable judge, whose loss was seriously felt by his survivors.

"He was remarkable also for his vivacity and companionable qualities. He said many things which were much admired at the time, but I have not treasured them in my memory so as to be able to communicate them."

Judge Duvall, in a letter of the same date, writes :--

"I knew Judge Chase intimately, from the year 1775 until the time of his decease. At the commencement of the revolution, Mr. Chase, as an advocate at the bar, was at least on a level with the ablest lawyers in Maryland, and in my judgment he never had a superior.

"He was constantly engaged in public life, and in legislative assemblies he was more able and powerful than at the bar.

"The late Chancellor Hanson always said that Mr. Chase was the ablest speaker he ever heard in a legislative assembly; and Mr. Hanson was capable of forming a correct opinion.

"His knowledge increased with his years. During the Revolutionary contest it may be said with truth, that in Maryland he was the foremost in supporting American rights. Always at his post in the legislature, he took the lead: and his talents enabled him to be formidable and influential. His zeal and patriotism led him into many political controversies, all of which he maintained with ability.

"Mr. Chase's opinions as a Judge of the Supreme Court are held in high estimation. Whilst on the bench of the General Court of Maryland, his opinions were applauded. He was an able civilian and jurist.

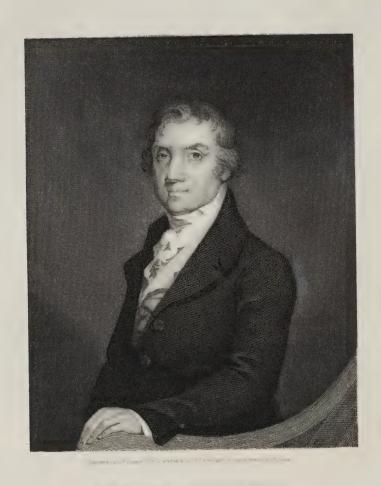
"The truth of these general remarks, as to Mr. Chase's character

is known to every man who lived in his time and during the revolution."

In his private life he was a kind husband, a fond parent, and a lenient master. For many months he had suffered under a severe disease, ossification of the heart, and had purposed a journey to the North for the benefit of his health; but on the day previous he was taken suddenly ill, he called for writing materials, but it was too late; and he died without making a will, on the 19th of June, 1811, at the mature age of seventy years, a great and good man.

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AbrBalowin





ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

It was justly remarked, by one* well qualified to form a correct estimate of the character he described, when speaking of the subject of this notice, that "the annals of our country have rarely been adorned with a character more venerable, or a life more useful than that of Abraham Baldwin. War brings its animation, and creates its own heroes; it often rears them up to fame with as little assistance from native genius as from study, or from moral and political virtue. It is in times of peace that an illustrious name is hardest earned, and most difficult to be secured, especially among enlightened republicans, where an equality of right and rank leaves nothing to the caprice of chance; where every action is weighed in its proper balance, and every man compared not only with his neighbor, but with himself; his motives being tested by the uniform tendency of his measures."

ABRAHAM BALDWIN was born in Connecticut, in November, 1754, and received his education, very early, at the university at New Haven. He was one of the best classical and mathematical scholars of the age in which he lived. He was employed as one of the professors in this college during the greater part of the American war; at the close of which he began the practice of law, and went to establish himself in the state of Georgia. He arrived at Savannah in the beginning of 1784; he was immediately admitted a counsellor at the Georgia bar, and in three months after he was elected a member of the state legislature. During the first session of that body after his election, he performed a service for the people of that state, for which their posterity will bless his memory. Indeed, if he had done nothing for them since, this action alone would have immortalized him there. He originated the plan of the University of Georgia, drew up the charter, and with infinite labor and

patience, in vanquishing all sorts of prejudices and removing every obstruction, he persuaded the assembly to adopt it. This instrument endowed the university with forty thousand acres of excellent land, required it to establish one central seat for the higher branches of education, and a secondary college in every county in the state; all dependant on the principal seminary.

These lands were then uncultivated; the state itself was new. Within a few years, however, the rents of the university lands enabled the trustees to erect the buildings and organize the institution. Its principal seat was established at Athens, on the Oconee river, and its first president was Josiah Meigs, a man equally eminent for mathematical and chemical science, and legal and classical erudition.

John Milledge, governor of the state, and afterward the colleague of Mr. Baldwin in the senate of the United States, was associated with him in the labor of bringing forward this establishment: and the trustees caused to be erected and placed within the walls of the first college, a marble monument to Baldwin as founder of the institution, and to Milledge, his associate. Nor is this the only instance in which we find their names connected by monumental acts of public authority. Milledgeville is the shire town of Baldwin county, and the seat of the state government.

Mr. Baldwin had not been two years in Georgia when he was elected member of congress. This was in 1785, to take his seat in 1786; from that time till the day of his death, he was, without a moment's intermission, a member of congress from that state, either as delegate under the old constitution, until the year 1789; representative under the new, until the year 1799; and senator from that time till his death. And the term for which he was last elected had still four years to run from the 4th of March, 1807, the day of his decease.

There had probably been no other instance of such a long and uninterrupted series of confidence and service among the members of the American congress. And what is more remarkable, on the first day that he was confined to his house in his last illness, only eight days before his death, he told his friends that during his twenty-two years of public service, that day, according to his best recollection, was the first that he had been absent from his public duties.

Mr. Baldwin was a member of the convention that framed the present constitution of the United States. This he always considered as the greatest service that he ever performed for his country; and

ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

his estimate is doubtless just. He was an active member of that most illustrious and meritorious body. Their deliberations were in secret; but we have good authority for saying, that some of the essential clauses of the invaluable, and we hope everlasting, compact, which they presented to their country, owe their origin and insertion to Abraham Baldwin.

His manner of conducting public business was worthy of the highest commendation; he may have wanted ambition to make himself brilliant, but he never wanted industry to render himself useful. His oratory was simple, forcible, convincing. His maxim of never asserting any thing but what he believed to be true, could not fail to be useful in carrying conviction to others. Patient of contradiction, and tolerant to the wildest opinions, he could be as indulgent to the errors of judgment in other men, as if he had stood the most in need of such indulgence for himself.

During the violent agitation of parties, he was always moderate, but firm; relaxing nothing in his republican principles, but retaining all possible charity for his former friends, who might be supposed to have abandoned theirs. He lived without reproach, and probably died without an enemy.

The state of society would be rendered much better than it is, if the private lives of virtuous men could be as well known as their public lives; that they might be kept clearly in view as objects of imitation. We are creatures of habit, and our habits are formed as much by repeating after others as after ourselves. Men, therefore, mistake a plain moral principle when they suppose it meritorious to conceal their good actions from the eye of the world. On the contrary, it is a part of their duty to let such actions be known; that they may extend their benefits by a sort of reproduction, and be multiplied by imitation.

Mr. Baldwin's private life was full of beneficent and charitable deeds, which he was too studious to conceal from public notice. Having never been married, he had no family of his own; and his constant habits of economy and temperance, left him the means of assisting many young men in their education and their establishment in business. Besides which, his father's family presented an ample field for his benevolence. Six orphans, his half-brothers and sisters, were left to his care by the father's death in the year 1787; and the estate that was to support them proved insolvent. He paid the debts of the estate, quit-claimed his proportion to these children, and educated them all in a great measure at his own expense.

Vot. 4—1

Mr. Baldwin was less distinguished by the brilliancy of his talents, or acuteness of reasoning, than by his strength of mind and soundness of judgment; slow and deliberate in making up his conclusions, he examined thoroughly every subject on which he acted, but when he became satisfied as to the correct course, no one followed it in a more undeviating line. He measured every question, whether of principle or policy, by what he deemed to be established rules in the organization and administration of government, as developed in the political history of the mother country, the colonies, and states, and embodied in their several constitutions.

Having served in the revolutionary war as a chaplain in the Connecticut brigade, he acquired a practical knowledge of the radical defects of the old confederation, in the conduct of our military operations: his subsequent experience in civil life, convinced him of the imperious necessity of avoiding the imminent danger of a dissolution of the confederacy, by the establishment of a new system of government on the authority of the people of the states, instead of that of state legislatures. Hence, he was the zealous advocate in congress for a National Convention to frame the constitution of a federal government, and as a member of that convention, active in its deliberations, laborious in effecting that important result, and afterwards in procuring its adoption by the people. Fully satisfied that in the institution of "one new government out of thirteen old ones," with such powers over each, and all, as were indispensable for federal purposes, enabling it not only to make, but execute its own laws on the enumerated subjects which had been confided to its jurisdiction, the greatest possible good had been effected for the country. Mr. Baldwin constantly acted on this Looking to the constitution as the bond of union, which united the states by a law which the people of each had declared to be supreme throughout the land, he was in the constitutional sense of the term, a federalist; as one of its framers, he approved of the federative principles of the constitution, whereby a government was instituted neither consolidated nor popular, but federal in its origin, organization, administration, and action. After its adoption by the people, he took it as a fundamental law, the written text, declaring the will of the supreme power, which was competent and had ordained it as the standard rule of action by which to measure the powers of the federal government, and its respective departments, as well as those reserved to the several states. Whatever may have been his individual opinion as to any

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detailed provisions, while the convention were deliberating upon them, he never suffered them to bias his construction; nor with all his veneration of his illustrious associates, did he regard the sense of that body "as the oracular guide in expounding the constitution." He followed a safer guide, he saw and read what the convention proposed, and the people adopted; regarding as of little importance the discussions which led to the great results, whether in the meetings of the people, in party writings, or the reasoning of the members of the general or state conventions. A constitution was adopted, a constitution was to be construed, as a written declaration of the will of sovereign power. Mr. Baldwin took it as he found it, made it his rule of action; following and obeying it as a disciple, he neither sought to enlarge or narrow its provisions by any theory or doctrine not declared in terms, or by necessary consequence therefrom.

Acting under the influence of these principles throughout a long course of public service, he never lost sight of the "balance of the federal constitution;" he found this balance by viewing all its parts, reconciling each with the others, with a steady determination "to give the greatest effect to them all," according to the plain import and knowledge of the words and terms.

But although Mr. BALDWIN was in these respects a federalist, he was in the political sense of the term a democrat; his principles of government and policy, were those which had denoted the line between the two great parties into which the country was divided as they were developed at the organization of the government, whether on questions of power or policy. Considering the constitution as a direct grant by the people of the several states, in their sovereign capacity as each an independent state, he gave it full effect in all things to which its provisions extended, according to their received acceptation. In assigning a meaning to any word or phrase of doubtful import, he took it in connexion with the whole instrument, its bearing on other parts, considering words and phrases as borrowed from former use, and used in the same sense in which they had always been taken. Though he was from his youth devoted to the principles of the revolution, yet his patriotism was not of that morbid and sensitive nature, as to prevent him from resorting to English books and laws to ascertain the definition of terms which were found in the constitution, as the understood sense in which they had been adopted and used by those who framed and ratified that instrument; justly thinking that it could not have

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been intended to give to old words or terms a new meaning, without some declaration to that effect. But while he conceded to the federal government the exercise of its enumerated powers to the full extent of the grant, by a liberal rather than a contracted construction of its provisions, he steadily refused his assent to any measures. which, in principle or operation, tended to impair the reserved powers or rights of the states or people, by any train of refined or ingenious reasoning, or reference to doubtful authority. Whenever a question arose, involving any collision between the relative powers of the executive and legislative departments of the government, he uniformly asserted the rights of the latter, adopting this as a political maxim, that "every particle of law-making power in the constitution granted, was vested in congress;" he opposed its exercise by any other department, in any mode which partook of the character, or by any act which could have the effect of legislation. Fully convinced that the "balance of the constitution" consisted in the steadfast adherence to these principles, they were his guide amidst all the conflicts of party, and the exciting questions which continued from the organization of the government to agitate the country. In following them he acquired and retained till his death, the confidence of the party to which he was attached, the respect of that which he opposed, the approbation of the people and state he represented, and died with the consciousness of having faithfully and fearlessly filled the measure of his public duties.

His last illness was so short, and his death so unexpected, that none of his relatives, except his brother-in-law, were able to be present at his funeral. But it seemed as if the public in general were his near relatives. There have been rarely witnessed more general and genuine marks of regret, at the loss of any of the great benefactors of our country, particularly among the members of congress from Georgia. In that state his loss was most deeply felt, though very sensibly perceived in the councils of the union. Though his funeral was two days after congress dissolved, many members stayed expressly to attend it. His remains were deposited by the side of his old friend, General James Jackson, his former colleague, whom he had followed to the grave just one year before.





Painted by J. Vanderly:

Mil Klivingshin





ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON was descended from a family of historical celebrity in the annals of Scotland. Kings, regents, and nobles appear in the line of his ancestors, and probably no individual ever emigrated to the new world who could boast more numerous or more distinguished evidences of rank and title. James Livingston, in the middle of the fifteenth century, was appointed regent of Scotland during the minority of James I; his grand-daughter married Donald, king of the Hebrides, one of whose descendants is celebrated by the immortal pen of Sir Walter Scott, in his poem, the Lord of the Isles.

The titles of Earl of Newburgh, Earl of Linlithgow, Earl of Callander, and Earl Livingstone, given to several distinct members of this family, attest its standing and importance in the state, and add lustre to the honors of its name. Nor were they undistinguished in the early literature of their native country; and the name of Rollock, of kindred origin, occurs at the close of the sixteenth century as first principal of the celebrated University of Edinburgh.

Lord Livingstone was the common ancestor of that branch of the Livingstons, which emigrated to this country in the middle of the seventeenth century. He was hereditary governor of Linlithgow castle, in which Mary Queen of Scots was born, and in which she was placed for safety during the invasion of Scotland by the Duke of Somerset. His daughter was one of the four ladies who attended this princess to France as her companion. His great grandson, John Livingston, an eminent, learned, and pious minister of the Gospel, emigrated to Rotterdam in 1663, the victim of religious persecution, and was one of the commissioners of Scotland in the negotiations which eventuated in a general peace, and in the transfer of the colony of New York from the states of Holland to England.

Robert Livingston, his son, about the period of his father's death, in 1678, emigrated to America; and in 1686, obtained a patent for the vol. IV.—5

manor of Livingston. The banks of the noble Hudson, on which it is situate, attest in its ornaments their taste and opulence. He was a member of the convention at Albany in 1689, which threw off, on the part of New York, the oppressive government of James II. In a visit to England, he held a conference with King William, Lord Chancellor Somers, and others, and prompted the enterprise against the pirates who then infested various parts of the American coast. The agent employed to effect this purpose proved treacherous to the trust, and, as is supposed, with the connivance of Robert Fletcher, the governor of the state. This agent afterwards became chief among the pirates, and is known in the popular traditions of the country by the name of Captain Kidd. The grandsons of Robert were, Philip Livingston, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, on the part of the state of New York; William Livingston, governor of New Jersey, known as a poet of high order, and still more estimable for his vigorous defence of the civil and religious rights of the colonies in council and by the pen. Robert Livingston's great-grandsons were, John H. Livingston, the father of the Reformed Dutch Church in America, and president of Queen's college, New Jersey; Brockholst Livingston, late one of the justices of the Supreme court of the United States; Edward Livingston, formerly secretary of the department of state; and Robert R. LIVINGSTON, the subject of our present memoir. The talents of this highly gifted family have had an ample field for their display and exertion. The colonial history of the state of New York records their elevated standing in its political affairs, and their noble resistance to those measures of oppression which arrived at their height during the early reign of George III, and which resulted in the independent sovereignty of America.

Chancellor Livingston was born in the city of New York, in 1747, and was educated in King's, now Columbia college, where he was graduated in 1764. He entered upon the study of the law in 1765, under the direction of William Smith, the historian of New York, at that time an eminent counsellor of law, and subsequently chief justice of Canada. Shortly after having obtained his license in that profession, he was appointed recorder of his native city. The trying question of the rights of the British parliament, in which we were unrepresented, to impose exactions on our citizens, then first began to be agitated; and the subject of our memoir, as well as his illustrious father, were both ejected from their official stations, the latter as one of the justices of the court of Oyer and Terminer, for adherence to the

rights of their countrymen.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

In return for royal persecution, Chancellor Livingston was rewarded by popular favor and the confidence of his country. In the immortal congress of 1776, Mr. Livingston represented the feelings and interests of the people of the state of New York. In this consecrated assembly, his zeal and patriotism were universally acknowledged.

When, at the recommendation of congress, each state proceeded to frame a constitution of government, Mr. Livingston was elected a member of the convention of New York, and was the chairman of the committee who presented the draught of that instrument, which was subsequently adopted.

On the formation of the department of foreign affairs, in 1781, under the articles of confederation, he accepted the appointment of secretary, and served in that capacity with great diligence, promptness, and impartiality, until 1783, when, on retiring from office, he received the thanks of congress, and an assurance of the high sense they entertained of the ability, zeal, and fidelity with which he had discharged the important trusts reposed in him. The diplomatic correspondence of the revolutionary war, which has been published by Mr. Sparks, may be here referred to as documentary testimony to his cabinet services in our great contest.

Mr. Livingston was appointed chancellor of the state of New York in 1783, being the first who held that office under the state constitution; and he continued in this highest legal station in the state until his mission to France, in 1801. No published documents record the evidences of his laborious research and accurate discrimination But we assert, on the testimony of a most distinguished successor to his office (Chancellor Jones), that the august tribunal, whose justice he dispensed, though since covered with a halo of glory, never boasted a more prompt, more able, or more faithful officer.

When at length the valor of our ancestors had borne them successfully through the revolutionary contest, and redeemed those pledges which had been offered on the altar of their country, another and a still more arduous task remained. In vain had our patriots moistened the soil with their blood, had our countrymen been left the victims to their own tormenting feuds and passions. The bond of union which united us during the period that tried men's souls, was almost rent asunder during the trials of peace. The legislature of Virginia, so early as in 1785, at the instance of Mr. Madison, who then first gave presages of his future greatness, had appointed commissioners, with a view to form commercial regulations for the general control of the states. Commissioners from several states met accordingly at Annapolis, the fol-

lowing year. From the want of adequate powers, they separated without effecting the object for which they were delegated. In 1787, on the recommendation of the Massachusetts delegation, composed of Francis Dana and Rufus King, was convened, at Philadelphia, that memorable assemblage of heroes and statesmen, who met to devise a plan of government which should convey the blessings of liberty to the latest generations. Of the plan of that national compact which now binds these states, Hamilton and Madison were the principal authors.

Of the convention which assembled at Poughkeepsie in 1788, Chancellor Livingston was one of the most efficient members, and prevailed in effecting its ratification by his native state; thus securing its adoption by the United States. We are now in the full enjoyment of its blessings. May no vaulting ambition on the part of our statesmen, or madness on the part of our people, ever put it in jeopardy for a moment. May it never be rendered oppressive by too liberal a construction of its powers: may it never be nullified by metaphysical refinement.

In April, 1789, the city of New York was the scene of one of the most solemn ceremonies recorded in the annals of America. The great Washington having conducted, to a successful issue, the momentous contest for independence, and the sages of our nation having elaborated a constitutional code of government, all eyes were directed to the illustrious hero, whose wise and sagacious counsels, no less than his valor, pointed him out as the most competent, under Providence, to guide the vessel of state in safety. When that venerated patriot was about to enter upon the duties of the highest office known to freemen, Chancellor Livingston became the witness of his solemn appeal to heaven, that the laws should be faithfully administered.

The appointment of Chancellor Livingston to the court of France, was one of the first acts of the new administration of Jefferson. Napoleon Bonaparte, the youthful conqueror of Italy, was at this time first consul of the French republic. At his court, which excelled in magnificence and splendor the most august courts of Europe, the chancellor at once conciliated the good feelings of that extraordinary man by the amenity of his manners, and promoted the best interests of his country by persevering and enlightened exertions. During the short-lived peace of Amiens, Paris was visited by the refined and intelligent from every part of the civilized world; and here the chancellor found leisure, amidst the duties of official station, to cultivate those ornate studies, for which that capital furnishes every facility. On the

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

day of a great levée, which assembled at the Tuilleries, says the biographer of Fox, the numerous representatives of nations and strangers from every country, to pay their respects to the first consul of France, now established as the sole head of the government, the American ambassador, Mr. Livingston, plain and simple in manners and dress, represented his republic with propriety and dignity.

In that important negotiation with the government of France, which resulted in the acquisition of Louisiana, Chancellor Livingston was the prominent and efficient agent. Its transfer by the Spanish government to France, in 1802, had excited the most lively feelings of the American republic. By this unexpected measure, they were made the neighbors to a power, which, under the giant energies of the first consul, threatened, in case of rupture, the very existence of our republic. Immediately preceding the entrance into it of the French authorities, the Spanish powers prohibited the inhabitants of the western country the use of New Orleans as a place of deposite for their productions, contrary to the treaty with his Catholic Majesty. versal spirit of indignation animated the American people; and there were not wanting those who recommended an immediate recourse to arms. The discussions on this question in the congress of the United States elicited debates, in which De Witt Clinton and Gouverneur Morris, representatives of the state of New York in the American senate, sustained the different views of the rival parties of this country. In pursuance of the sound counsels of those who urged the propriety of negotiation and peace, the executive of the United States deputed, as minister to the court of France, the late President Monroe; but previous to his arrival, Mr. Livingston, in an elaborate and interesting memoir, addressed to the French government, had prepared them for the cession of the greater part of Louisiana.

The result of Chancellor Livingston's efforts was prompt and successful. On the 5th April, the first consul announced to his bureau of state his determination to sell whatever of American territory he had obtained from Spain. Seven days afterwards, Mr. Monroe arrived in Paris, and gave the consent of the American government to this negotiation. The menacing posture of affairs between France and England facilitated the objects of these arrangements, and resulted in the transfer of the entire country to the American republic, for a sum less than was adequate for the preparation of a single campaign.

By this important treaty, contrary to the anticipations of the timid or interested, the confederacy of our states was placed on an invulnerable basis; territory was added to our country, nearly equal in extent

to that of the original states of our union; and the blessings of free government secured to millions, who had otherwise groaned under the vassalage of foreign dominion. The vast deserts of Louisiana are daily becoming the cheerful residence of an intelligent and christian population, with American blood flowing in their veins, and beating responsive to republican feelings; and the field of New Orleans is now added to those of Bunker Hill, Stillwater, and Chippeway, as trophics of American valor and patriotism.

After the signing of this eventful treaty, the three ministers arose, says one of them (the Count Marbois), when Mr. Livingston, expressing the general satisfaction, said, with prophetic sagacity, "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art, or dictated by force; equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day, the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America. Thus one of the principal causes of European rivalries and animosities is about to cease. The United States will reëstablish the maritime rights of all the world, which are now usurped by a single nation. These treaties will thus be a guarantee of peace and concord among commercial states. The instruments which we have just signed, will cause no tears to be shed; they prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and Missouri will see them succeed one another, and multiply, truly worthy of the regard of Providence, in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition and the scourges of bad government."

The consequences of this act did not escape the penetration of the first consul. "This accession of territory," said he, "strengthens for ever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride."

The official duties of resident minister at Paris did not prevent Chancellor Livingston from bestowing his attention to those objects of taste congenial to his feelings, and beneficial to his country. To the American Academy of Fine Arts, established in New York, in 1801, he added the excellent collection of busts and statues which are now the boast of that institution, and was instrumental in procuring, from the liberality of the first consul, its rich paintings and prints. He continued through life devoted to its interests, and was for many years its chief officer. To the Transactions of the Society for the

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ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Promotion of Useful Arts, established in 1793, chiefly through his exertions, he contributed many appropriate papers, and, during his residence abroad, enriched our agriculture with the improvements of French husbandry.

The last effort of his pen was his paper on Agriculture, written but a few days before his fatal illness. In this spirited essay, he vindicates the climate, soil, and capabilities of his native country. He shows the value of horticultural labor, and demonstrates the reciprocal connections between agriculture and manufactures. The inherent fertility and the indigenous resource of the country, are the themes of his admiration and eulogy. He was among the earliest, with Judge Peters, to employ gypsum as the means of fertilizing soils; and the introduction of clover, and a better breed of domestic cattle, attest his vigilant and enlightened zeal.

One other benefit conferred on mankind, will, of itself, convey the name of Chancellor Livingston to the remotest posterity; his coöperation with Robert Fulton, in effecting the successful application of steam navigation, the most important improvement since the invention of printing.

"The connection between Livingston and Fulton," says the late lamented Clinton, "realized, to a great degree, the vision of the poet. All former experiments had failed, and the genius of Fulton, aided and fostered by the public spirit and discernment of Livingston, created one of the greatest accommodations for the benefit of mankind. These illustrious men will be considered, through all time, as the benefactors of the world."*

The leisure hours of Chancellor Livingston were devoted to every variety of science, arts, and literature. The heroic authors of antiquity, Homer and Virgil, Demosthenes and Cicero, were among those which contributed to improve his taste and expand his thought and feeling. His historical researches were various and extensive. All this was not effected without unremitting industry. Every interval of time afforded from the duties and cares of public life, was devoted, with scrupulous fidelity, to add to his stores of knowledge. Like the Chancellor D'Aguesseau, in variety of pursuit he found that relaxation which others seek in pleasure and amusement.

The style of his oratory was chaste and classical, and of that persuasive kind which the father of poetry ascribes to Nestor. All who were witnesses, testify to the mute attention with which he riveted his

^{*} Clinton's Discourse before the American Academy of Fine Arts.

auditors. But he chiefly delighted in the pathetic, and often, by his appeals to the sympathies of his hearers, counteracted the most powerful prejudices. His acknowledged integrity and patriotism doubtless added force to all he uttered. Franklin termed him the American Cicero: in him were united all those qualities which, according to hat illustrious Roman, are necessary in the perfect orator.

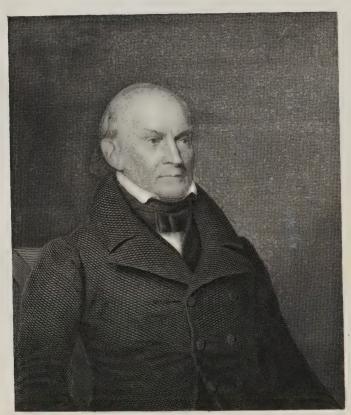
After a life, every portion of which was devoted to the benefit of his fellow-man, he paid the last debt to nature, at his seat, at Clermont, on the 26th of February, 1813.

Thus it appears, from this imperfect tribute, that the late Chancellor Livingston was an active agent in the most momentous events that have influenced the destinies of mankind. Of the congress of 1776, which resolved that these states were free and independent, he was a distinguished member, and belonged to that committee which framed the declaration of our grievances and rights,—and which will transmit their names to the latest posterity; of the convention of New York which formed the constitution of that state—the best devised scheme of polity then known to the world; of a subsequent convention, which ratified the constitution of the United States, devised by the wisdom of Hamilton and Madison; the important actor in a negotiation, which doubled our country in extent, and rendered it for ever secure from foreign intrusion; the coadjutor in that noblest of all improvements in mechanics, by which time and space are annihilated—the invention of steam navigation.

In Mr. Livingston, to the proud character of integrity, honor, and disinterestedness, were added the mild, yet ennobling features of religion. An inquiring believer in its truth, an exemplar of its gentle effects on the character, he daily sought its consolations, and strengthened his pious resolutions in the rich inheritance it promises. He was devoted to the Protestant Episcopal Church, from an enlightened preference of its doctrines and discipline, without hostile feelings to those who trust to other guides in religion than Chillingworth and Hooker.

Chancellor Livingston, at the time of his death, was in the 60th year of his age. His person was tall and commanding, and of patrician dignity. Gentle and courteous in his manners, pure and upright in his morals. His benefactions to the poor were numerous and unostentatious. In his life, without reproach; victorious in death over its terrors.





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JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

In giving a sketch of the career of John Quincy Adams, the limits of our work require us almost entirely to confine the narrative to a bare recital of the successive leading events of his life. It is difficult to contemplate his history, without yielding to the impulses of the feelings and the imagination, and expatiating on the interesting reflections and meditations which, at every stage of his course, crowd into the mind, and demand expression. So protracted, however, was his public life, so full was it of important services, and so various were the stations in which his great talents were displayed, that the concisest narration of them will be kept, with difficulty, from too fully occupying our pages. His illustrious parents have been already duly commemorated in our work; and it will therefore be unnecessary to dwell upon their merits. He was born in Braintree, in Massachusetts, in that part of the town since incorporated by the name of Quincy, on Saturday, July 11, 1767, and was baptised the next day, in the congregational church of the first Parish of Braintree. He was named John Quincy, in consequence of the interesting circumstance that his maternal great-grandfather of that name, who was the owner of Mount Wollaston, and a leading civil and military character of his times, in honor of whom the town of Quincy received its name, was actually dying at the time of his birth.

In the eleventh year of his age he accompanied his father to France, who was sent by Congress, as joint commissioner, with Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee, to the court of Versailles. They sailed from Boston in February, 1778, and arrived at Bourdeaux early in April. While in France, he was, of course, put to school, and instructed in the language of that country as well as in the Latin. After about eighteen months, they returned to America in the French frigate La Sensible, in company with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who came out as the minister of France to the United States. They arrived in Boston on the first of August, 1779. In November of the same year his father was again

despatched to Europe, for the discharge of diplomatic services, which he rendered to the cause of America with such signal and memorable ability and success. He again took his son out with him. It seemed to be the determination of that great patriot, not only to do and to dare every thing himself for his struggling country, but to keep his son continually at his side; so that, by sharing his perils and witnessing his toils, he might become imbued with his own exalted enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, and be prepared to promote and vindicate it with all the energies of his genius and all the sensibility of his soul. It is easy to imagine the exciting influences which must have operated upon the character of a youth at that susceptible and impressible age, accompanying such a father through the scenes in which he acted while in Europe, and the dangers he encountered in his voyages across the Atlantic. In one of these voyages, the ship in which they were embarked was under the command of the famous naval hero Commodore Tucker, and the whole passage was a succession of hazardous exposures and hair-breadth escapes from hostile squadrons and tempestuous gales.

While the younger Adams was receiving the impressions made upon him by a participation in the patriotic adventures and exertions of his father, and imbibing the wisdom and intrepid energy of spirit for which he was so distinguished, the same effect was still more heightened and deepened by the influence exerted upon him by the inculcations and exhortations to every public and private virtue contained in the letters of his mother. When he was thirteen years of age, while in France with his father, she addressed him in the following noble strains :- "It is your lot, my son, to owe your existence among a people who have made a glorious defence of their invaded liberties, and who, aided by a generous and powerful ally, with the blessing of heaven, will transmit this inheritance to ages yet unborn; nor ought it to be one of the least of your excitements towards exerting every power and faculty of your mind, that you have a parent who has taken so large a share in this contest, and discharged the trust reposed in him with so much satisfaction as to be honored with the important embassy that at present calls him abroad. The strict and inviolate regard you have ever paid to truth, gives me pleasing hopes that you will not swerve from her dictates; but add justice, fortitude, and every manly virtue which can adorn a good citizen, do honor to your country, and render your parents supremely happy particularly your ever affectionate mother."

The opportunities and privileges of an education, under such au

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spices, were not thrown away upon him, as the incidents of his subsequent career most amply prove.

In going to Europe this second time, he embarked with his father at Boston, in the same French frigate, La Sensible, bound to Brest; but as the ship sprung a leak in a gale of wind, it was necessary to make the first port they could, which was Ferrol in Spain. They traveled from that place to Paris by land, and arrived there in January, 1780.

The son, of course, was immediately placed at school. In July of that year, Mr. Adams removed to Holland. There his son was introduced to the public city school at Amsterdam, and afterwards to the University at Leyden. In July, 1781, Mr. Francis Dane, who had accompanied John Adams as Secretary of the embassy with which he was charged, received the commission of minister plenipotentiary to the Empress of Russia, and took John Quincy Adams, then fourteen years of age, with him as his private Secretary. Here the younger Adams remained until October 1782, when he left Mr. Dane at St. Petersburg, and returned through Sweden, Denmark, Hamburg, and Bremen, to Holland. Upon this journey he employed the whole winter, spending considerable time by the way, in Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Hamburg. He reached the Hague in April, 1783, and continued several months in Holland, until his father took him to Paris, where he was at the signing of the treaty of peace, which took place in September of that year, and from that time to May, 1785, he was, for the most part, with his father in England, Holland, and France.

At his own solicitations, his father permitted him, when eighteen years of age, to return to his native country. Soon after reaching America, he entered Harvard University, at an advanced standing, and was graduated with distingiushed honor, as Bachelor of Arts, in 1787. He then entered the office of the celebrated Theophilus Parsons, at New bury Port, afterwards chief justice of Massachusetts; and after the usual period of three years spent in the study of the law, he entered the profession, and established himself in Boston.

He remained in that situation four years, occupying himself industriously in his office, extending his acquaintance with the great principles of law, and also taking part in the public questions which then occupied the attention of his countrymen. In the summer of 1791 he published a series of papers in the Boston Centinel, under the signature of Publicola, containing remarks upon the first part of Paine's Rights of Man. They suggested doubts in reference to the favorable issue of the French Revolution, at a time when most other men saw nothing but good in that awakening event. The issue proved the sa

gacity of Publicola. These pieces were at first ascribed to his father.

They were reprinted in England.

In April, 1793, on the first information of war between Great Britain and France, and before Washington had published his proclamation of neutrality, or it was known that such a step was contemplated by him, Mr. Adams published in the Boston Centinel three articles signed Marcellus, the object of which was to prove that the duty and interest of the United States required them to remain neutral in that war. In these papers he developed the two principles, which have ever been the basis of his creed as a statesman; the one is union at home, the other independence of all entangling alliances with any foreign states whatever.

In the winter of 1793-4 he published another series of political essays, confirming, and more fully developing these views, and vindicating the course of President Washington in reference to the proceed-

ings of the French minister, Genet.

In May, 1794, he was appointed by Washington, without any intimation of such a design, made either to him or to his father, minister resident to the United Netherlands. It was supposed at the time that he was selected in consequence of his having been commended to the favorable notice of Washington, as a suitable person for such an

employment, by Mr. Jefferson.

From 1794 to 1801 he was in Europe, employed in diplomatic business, and as a public minister, in Holland, England, and Prussia. Just as President Washington was retiring from office, he appointed him minister plenipotentiary to the court of Portugal. While on his way to Lisbon, he received a new commission, changing his destination to Berlin. He resided in Berlin from November 1797 to April 1801, and while there concluded a highly important treaty of commerce with Prussia, thus accomplishing the object of his mission. He was then recalled, just before the close of his father's administration, and arrived in Philadelphia in September, 1801.

In 1802 he was elected, from the Boston district, a member of the Massachusetts Senate, and was soon after appointed, by the legislature of that state, a senator in the Congress of the United States for six years, from the 4th of March, 1803. As his views of public duty led him to adopt a course which he had reason to believe was disagreeable to the legislature of the State he represented, he resigned his seat in March, 1808. In March, 1809, President Madison nominated him Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Russia.

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Some time previous to this, however, in 1806, he had been appointed Professor of Rhetoric in Harvard University, at Cambridge in Massachusetts. So extraordinary were his powers of elocution, so fervid his imaginative faculties, and so rich his resources of literature and language, that his lectures, which were afterwards published in two octavo volumes, were thronged not only by the students of the university, but by large numbers of the admirers of eloquence and genius, who came from Boston and the neighboring towns to listen to them. During his whole life Mr. Adams cultivated the graces of elocution, and, in addition to his profound and varied knowledge of the sciences, of the ancient and modern languages, and of the literature and history of all nations, he was an eminent Orator as well as Poet.

While in Prussia, he furnished to the Port Folio, printed in Philadelphia, and to which, from the beginning to the end, he was an industrious anonymous contributor, a series of letters, entitled a "Journal of a Tour through Silesia." These letters were republished in London, without the permission of the proprietor of the Port Folio, in one volume octavo. They were reviewed in the journals of the day, and translated into French and German.

Mr. Adams signalized himself while in Russia, by an energetic, faithful, and wise discharge of the trust committed to him. He suc ceeded in making such an impression upon that government, by his reasonings and influence, that it has ever since been actuated by a feel ing of kindness towards the United States, which has been of incalculable benefit to this country. It was through his instrumentality that the Russian Court was induced to take active measures to promote a paci fication between England and the United States during the last war. When the proper time came, he was named at the head of the five commissioners who were appointed by President Madison to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain. This celebrated diplomatic trans action took place at Ghent, in December, 1814. Mr. Adams then proceeded, in conjunction with Henry Clay and Albert Gallatin, who had also been associated with him in concluding the treaty of peace, to negotiate a convention of commerce with Great Britain; and he was forthwith appointed by President Madison minister plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James.

It is a most remarkable coincidence that, as his father took the leading part in negotiating the treaty that terminated the Revolutionary war with Great Britain, and first discharged the office of American ambassador to London, so he was at the head of the commission that negotiated the treaty that brought the second war with Great Britain

to a close, and sustained the first mission to that country upon the return of peace. After having occupied that post until the close of President Madison's administration, he was at length called home, in 1817, to the head of the department of State, at the formation of the cabinet of President Monroe.

Mr. Adams's career as a foreign minister terminated at this point. It has never been paralleled, or at all approached, either in the length of time it covered, the number of courts at which he represented his country, or the variety and importance of the services he rendered. His first appointment to the office of a minister plenipotentiary was received at the hands of George Washington, who, in nominating him, acted in accordance with the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson. James Madison employed him in the weightiest and most responsible trusts during his whole administration, selected him to represent the United States at the two most powerful courts in the world, St. Petersburg and London, and committed to his leading agency the momentous duty of arranging a treaty of peace with Great Britain. It is enough to say, that throughout this long and brilliant career of foreign public service, he deserved, and received from his country, the encomium which Washington pronounced upon him, when, in 1797, he declared him "the most valuable public character we have abroad, and the ablest of all our diplomatic corps."

The public approbation of Mr. Monroe's act in placing him at the head of his cabinet, was well expressed by General Jackson, at the time, when he said that he was "the fittest person for the office; a man who would stand by the country in the hour of danger." While Secretary of State, an office which he held during the eight years of President Monroe's administration, he discharged his duties in such a manner as to increase the confidence of his countrymen in his ability and patriotism. Under his influence, the claims on Spain were adjusted, Florida ceded to the Union, and the republics of South America recognised. It will be the more appropriate duty of his future biographer to present a full view of the vast amount of labor which he expended, in the public service, while managing the department of state.

In the Presidential election, which took place in the fall of 1824, Mr. Adams was one of the candidates. No candidate received a majority of electoral votes. When, on the 9th of February, 1825, the two houses of Congress met in convention, in the hall of the House of Representatives, to open, and count, and declare the electoral votes, it was found that Andrew Jackson had 99 votes, John Quincy Adams, 84 votes, William H. Crawford, 41 votes, and Henry Clay

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According to the requirements of the constitution, the Senate then withdrew, and the House remained to ballot for a President until a choice should be effected. They were to vote by States; the election was limited to the three candidates who had the highest electoral votes, and the ballotting was to continue without adjournment until some one of the three had received the votes of a majority of the States. As Mr. Adams had received as many popular votes as General Jackson, the circumstance that the latter had obtained a large electoral vote had not so much weight as it otherwise might have had; and when the ballotting was about to begin, it was wholly uncertain which would be the successful candidate. The whole number of States was twenty-four. The votes of thirteen States were necessary for a choice. At the first ballot, it was found that Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New-York, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Louisiana, thirteen states, had voted for "John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts;" and he was accordingly elected President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March, 1825. A committee was appointed forthwith to inform him of his election, who, the next day, reported the following letter in reply to the communication:

"GENTLEMEN,

"In receiving this testimonial from the Representatives of the people and states of this Union, I am deeply sensible to the circumstances under which it has been given. All my predecessors in the high station, to which the favor of the House now calls me, have been honored with majorities of the electoral voices in their primary colleges. It has been my fortune to be placed, by the divisions of sentiment prevailing among our countrymen on this occasion, in competition, friendly and honorable, with three of my fellow-citizens, all justly enjoying, in eminent degrees, the public favor: and of whose worth, talents, and services, no one entertains a higher and more respectful sense than my-The names of two of them were, in the fulfilment of the provisions of the constitution, presented to the selection of the House in concurrence with my own; names closely associated with the glory of the nation, and one of them further recommended by a larger minority of the primary electoral suffrages than mine. In this state of things, could my refusal to accept the trust, thus delegated to me, give an immediate opportunity to the people to form and to express, with a nearer approach to unanimity, the object of their preference, I should not hesitate to decline the acceptance of this eminent charge, and to

submit the decision of this momentous question again to their determination. But the constitution itself has not so disposed of the contingency which would arise in the event of my refusal; I shall therefore repair to the post assigned me by the call of my country, signified through her constitutional organs; oppressed with the magnitude of the task before me, but cheered with the hope of that generous support from my fellow-citizens, which, in the vicissitudes of a life devoted to their service, has never failed to sustain me—confident in the trust, that the wisdom of the Legislative Councils will guide and direct me in the path of my official duty, and relying, above all, upon the superintending Providence of that Being 'in whose hand our breath is, and whose are all our ways.'

"Gentlemen: I pray you to make acceptable to the House, the assurance of my profound gratitude for their confidence, and to accep yourselves my thanks for the friendly terms in which you have communicated their decision.

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" Washington, 10th Feb. 1825."

The time is approaching when justice will be done to the administration of John Quincy Adams. The passions of that day are already fast subsiding, and the parties and combinations that arose under the exciting influences of the times, have long since been dissolved and scattered. The clear verdict of posterity may almost be heard, even now, in the general acknowledgment of its merits by the people of the country, in all its various sections. In the relations he sustained to the members of his cabinet, in his communications to the two houses, and in all his proceedings, there is a uniform manifestation of wisdom, industry, moderation, and devoted patriotism. Of course we do not speak of party questions, or refer to the operations or bearings of the parties of that period; but say only what we conscientiously believe will be assented to heartily by candid and honorable men of all par-The great effort of his administration was to mature, into a permanent system, the application of all the superfluous revenue of the Union to internal improvement. This policy was first suggested in a resolution introduced by him, and adopted by the Senate of the United States in 1806; and was fully unfolded in his first message to Congress in 1825. It will be the duty of the philosophical historian of the country, a half century hence, to contrast the probable effects upon the general prosperity, which would have been produced by such a system of administration, regularly and comprehensively

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carried out, during the intermediate time, by the government of the Union, with what will then be seen to be the results of the policy which has prevailed over it.

In retiring from the Presidency in 1829, Mr. Adams returned to his family mansion in Quincy, where he remained, in quiet retirement, until he was called into public life, once more, by the people of the congressional district to which he belonged. He took his seat in the House of Representatives of the United States in 1831, where he continued till his death in the most indefatigable discharge of the duties of his station. However much some of his opinions might be disliked by large numbers of his countrymen; however strenuous the collision into which he was, from time to time, brought with those whose policy or views he might oppose; there was but one sentiment of admiration, throughout the entire Union, of the vigor, the activity, the intrepidity, the patience and perseverance of labor, the talent, the learning, and the eloquence which he continually exhibited. He knew neither fear nor fatigue; prompt, full, and fervid in debate, he was ever at his post; no subject arose upon which he did not throw light, and few discussions occurred which were not enlivened by the flashings of his genius and invigorated by the energy of his spirit. While he belonged to no party, all parties in turn felt the power of his talents; and all it is probable, recognized him as an extremely useful as well as interesting member of the great legislative assembly of the nation.

When he resumed his senatorial duties, he had reached the period of life when most men begin, if not to lose their power to engage in the arduous struggles of life, at least to lose their interest in them. But it was not so with him. Neither his natural force nor his natural fervor abated. His speeches and writings continued as full of fancy and of feeling as they were in his early manhood. As a scholar, his attainments were various, we might almost say universal, and profound. As a political controversial writer, he never found his equal; and his services as a public orator were called for on great occasions even to the last, when he came forward in all the strength of his intellectual energy, and with the imperishable richness and inexhaustible abundance of his rhetorical stores. When Congress were apprized of the death of General Lafayette, the unanimous voice of both Houses summoned him to the high and memorable duty of pronouncing their grateful eulogium upon that friend of America and champion of mankind. And at the call of the municipal authorities of the city of Boston, he pronounced funeral orations in commemoration of the departed worth of Presidents Monroe and Madison.

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At the time of Mr. Adams' first acceptance of a seat in the Senate, there were those among his best friends who doubted the policy of the step, and who feared the consequences to himself of a voluntary exposure at his age, to collision with the turbulent men more or less generally found there. They all lived to confess their mistake, as well as to acknowledge that without the latter portion of his career, Mr. Adams' fame would have lost an essential element. With no personal party, with no inducements of self-interest to hold out to others to follow him, and with strong prejudices, growing out of past contests, to overcome, he nevertheless made good his attitude of independence, and at times wielded a controlling influence over the House. One of his eulogists has marked out as the greatest event in his life, that decisive stroke of his which evoked order out of chaos at the opening of the twenty-sixth Congress. But others will be more inclined to believe that his steady and determined maintenance of a fundamental principle of republican government in the freedom of petition, in opposition to all the power of the House and the interests of both the great parties, until he actually succeeded in procuring the formal rescinding of the obnoxious rule of the House which had denied it, furnishes the most useful as well as the most noble example of moral heroism in politics which has yet been given in America. Neither did he in the end suffer in the popular estimation by his action. The tides of feeling in a republic flow swiftly, no matter how often they change their direction. He, who in 1837 narrowly escaped a vote of censure, if not a formal expulsion from an excited majority, whom at first the press and the people alike appeared to deplore, if not to condemn, but six years afterwards, when undertaking a private excursion for the gratification of once seeing the falls of Niagara before his death, became, most unexpectedly to himself, the hero of a species of ovation. Crowds every where turned out to meet him on his way, and to testify their admiration of the qualities he had shown in the great struggle. Nothing of the kind had happened since the reception of La Fayette. The people lauded in him a virtue valued in America for its rarity in public life quite as much as for its intrinsic worth. Like a plant which has survived and grown up from among thousands trodden under foot, firmness is estimated by the success it has met with in resisting. It can never be an attribute of the popular favorite of an hour, who lives only in sunshine, and whose self-reliance is never strong enough to fortify both his will and his power to outride a storm. Yet the intimate friends of Mr. Adams had good reason to suspect that he valued the applause of men quite as highly as he ought, and as the commonest

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demagogues do. The difference was in his mode of reaching it, which was never like theirs, graduated by a fear of the popular censure. He delighted in bold methods of *forcing* their approbation, by appealing to high principles, the power of which they could not fail to bow to in the long run, however disposed they might be for the moment to resist their application. He was fond of the position of a champion of a good cause against great odds, as well because it afforded a broad field for the exercise of his extraordinary dialectics, as because he felt sure that ultimately the victory would rest with the right.

Time wore on; and the bonds which unite the soul with the body were gradually but perceptibly losing their elasticity, though the spirit continued unconquered and vigorous as ever. It was not until the month of November, 1846, that a distinct notion of his mortality was presented to the mind of Mr. Adams. As he was leaving the house of his son in Boston, to make a visit in company with a friend, the late Dr. Parkman, to the spot which was not very long afterwards destined to witness that friend's singular and lamented murder, a shock of paralysis suddenly deprived him of all power of motion. But when he recovered his senses, so little conscious was he of the evil which afflicted him, that he was searching for causes entirely of a temporary nature to account for it. Slowly did the painful truth force itself upon his mind. But when at last it came, he immediately prepared himself to meet it, first, by perfecting his final disposition of all worldly matters, secondly, by resolutely setting about a plan of recovery. Day after day, as he accurately measured his returning strength, his chief regret seemed to be that it did not come up to his expectations, or respond to his exertions. Yet he did wonders with his exhausted frame. In the middle of November, he was lying in Boston hovering between life and death, with his physicians daring only to hope a partial restoration after a long period of prostration. In the middle of February succeeding, he had so far conquered the enemy as to resume his seat in the House of Representatives at Washington, with a return of thanks, for the cordial and warm greeting that immediately on his showing himself interrupted the formal proceedings of the day. From that date he fell into his usual habits of life, conceding as little as possible to the serious inroad that had been made on his vigor. And for a time his constitution seemed to respond to the demands he was making on it. He returned to the excitement of politics, and to the irregular hours of Washington life, which had become to him a second nature, instead of seeking to form new habits of mental repose and regular sustenance of a physical system so nearly worn out. The consequence was not

immediate, but when it came it was decisive. As he rose in his place in the House of Representatives on the 21st of February, 1848, apparently with the design of making some motion or remark, he was observed first to hesitate and then to fall. The fatal bolt had sped. He was borne off to the Speaker's room, and was heard to utter the words "the last of earth," after which he never spoke more. The vital powers continued partially to act until the 23d, when Mr. Adams ceased to breathe. He had not been removed from the capitol.

The suddenness of this event, the place in which it occurred, the circumstances attending it, the high character and long public services of the deceased, all conspired strongly to excite the public attention. For several days little was done in either House of Congress. Not only were the funeral obsequies among the most impressive ever witnessed in Washington, but they were in one sense extended to great length by a formal vote of the House of Representatives, organizing a committee of one member from each state, for the purpose of following the remains to their last resting place at Quincy. As the procession passed through the three great cities, crowds followed it in each, and when it reached Boston, Faneuil Hall was thrown open as the fitting place temporarily to receive the body. At last on the 11th of March, they were transferred to and finally deposited at Quincy, with appropriate ceremonies in presence of the committee, and an eloquent sermon from Dr. Lunt, the pastor of the church of which Mr. Adams had been a member. Numerous tributes were paid to his memory in all parts of the Union, in the form of eulogies and resolutions of public bodies, all going to show the sense of the nation, that one of its greatest and purest characters had ended his course with honor and been gathered to his reward.

During his long life of almost eighty-one years, Mr. Adams was distinguished not only by faithful attention to all the great duties of the high stations he was called to fill, but to all their minor ones. As president, as member of the cabinet, as minister abroad, he examined all questions that came before him, and examined all, in all the minutiæ of their detail, as well as in all the vastness of their comprehension.

In the observance of all the proprieties of life, Mr. Adams was a noble example. In the exercises of the school and of the college—in the meetings of the agricultural, mechanical, and commercial societies,—in attendance upon Divine worship,—he gave the punctual attendance rarely seen but in those who are free from the weight of public cares. It is believed to have been the wish of his heart to die, like Chatham, in the midst of his labors, and the wish was gratified.





Louisa Catherine Adams





LOUISA CATHERINE ADAMS.

In our Republic, where the principle of distribution is perpetually at work against the long continuance of property in the hands of any race of individuals, the duties of the female sex may be generally expected to prove too burdensome to admit of great devotion to pursuits exclusively literary or political, or even to that species of social influence which, in other countries, has not unfrequently made women the arbiters of weal or woe to a nation. The position in life of the greater number, is determined by the accident of marriage, and depends upon the success of exertions more often made by their partners after than before that event. Mere wealth is rather an obstacle than an aid to the acquirement of the distinction most coveted in America, while political success often attends him in advanced age, who has, in early days, struggled hard with poverty, and devolved upon a wife, selected perhaps with sole reference to the most ordinary duties of life, all the drudgery of domestic cares. The duties of a housekeeper, a wife, and a mother, while they make every woman who faithfully executes them respectable in the eyes of the world, do not, when exclusively pursued, so well fit her to shine upon that brilliant theatre of politics and fashion to which she may yet be called. This may in part account for the somewhat remarkable absence of female biography in the annals of our nation, and for the little power which appears hitherto to have been exerted by individuals of that sex in the circles of American society. At the same time it ought never to be forgotten that the greatest praise is due to those, who have been by circumstances distinguished above the rest, for having, as well by example as by precept, so rigidly preserved the standard of our morality pure; in this manner earning for themselves a far more substantial claim to the public gratitude, than all the fame which ever grew out of the brilliant salons of the corrupt society in the French metropolis.

Mrs. Louisa Catherine Adams in early life enjoyed advantages not usual at that period to American ladies. The daughter of Joshua

Johnson, a citizen of the colony of Maryland, engaged in commercial pursuits in London, she was born in that city on the 12th of February, 1775. Mr. Johnson, although established in the mother country when the Revolution commmenced, was not one of those who took sides with her, and settled into the character of refugees and exiles from their native land. While his brother, Thomas Johnson, took a leading part at home, both in the Colony and as a delegate to the first Congress, and the remaining members of a numerous family were actively engaged in the war which ensued; he, himself, retired from Great Britain to Nantes in France. There he received, from the federal congress, an appointment as commissioner to examine the accounts of all the American functionaries then entrusted with the public money of the United States in Europe; in the exercise of the duties of which he continued until the peace of 1782. Our National Independence having then been recognised, he returned to London, where he continued to reside, and where he acted as consular agent for the United States, until his final return, in 1797, to his native soil.

It thus happened that the early years of Mrs. Adams were passed partly in Great Britain and partly in France, from each of which she derived advantages of observation, and opportunities for accomplishment in mind and manners, not very common with her countrywomen of that day. These eminently fitted her for the part she was in after-life called to perform. In the house of her father in London, then a general resort of all Americans, who, whether for business or pleasure, frequented that metropolis, she was introduced into society; and it was here that Mr. John Quincy Adams, when commissioned by President Washington to exchange the ratifications of the Treaty of 19th November, 1794, and to agree upon arrangements for carrying some of its provisions into execution, found her. The dry details of diplomatic conference were relieved by evenings of social intercourse, and the formalities of British negotiation made less tedious by the awakening of the most agreeable sympathies. Mr. Pinkney arrived, and Mr. Adams became released from his official duties; but in the mean time a matrimonial engagement had been contracted, which, on the 26th day of July, 1797, that is, the year following these events, terminated in a marriage, at the church of All-Hallows, where Miss Johnson became Mrs. Adams.

The discriminating eye of President Washington marked out Mr. Adams, while a young lawyer, in Boston, writing political essays upon the leading topics of that day, as fit for the public service. For some years prior to this marriage, he had been occupying the station

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of minister resident at the Hague, and the eminent ability of his official despatches confirmed the impression he had previously made. It procured for him the very honorable and confidential trust which carried him to London, as well as a subsequent promotion to be Minister Plenipotentiary to Lisbon. He was upon the eve of departure at the period of his marriage, when the accession of his father, John Adams, to the Presidency, occurred. This was productive of no advancement, but simply of a transfer from Lisbon in Portugal, to a similar station at Berlin in Prussia.

Perhaps it is not easy at this time to form a just estimate of the position occupied by representatives of the United States at the Courts of the sovereigns of Europe at the period now referred to. We were regarded as hardly more than successful rebels, whose example was not entirely of good omen, and as yet manifesting in our local discord and disorganization, rather an incapacity for regulating a well-ordered State, than any prospect of arriving at a station of much political weight. Under such circumstances, the appearance of representatives at courts, to which none had before been sent, was an event not merely to excite curiosity. It was known that a new government, having some appearance of stability, had been organised, at the head of which had been placed General Washington; and the first impressions obtained from his administration were to be strengthened or not, according to the efficiency of the agents he might think proper to employ. To Berlin, where no minister had before been acknowledged, Mr. Adams repaired, conducting his wife, as a bride, at once to play her part in the higher circles of social and political life. It need scarcely be added, that she proved perfectly competent to this; and that during four years, which comprised the period of her stay at that court, notwithstanding almost continual ill-health, she succeeded in making friends and conciliating a degree of good will, the recollection of which was, till the time of her death, believed to be among the most agreeable of the associations with her varied life.

In 1801, after the birth of her eldest child, she embarked with Mr. Adams on his return to the United States. The revolution which had taken place in the political affairs of the country, determined him to resume the practice of the law in Boston, to which place she came, a stranger to the habits and manners, though not to the feelings, of the people about her. Scarcely had sufficient time elapsed to become at home, before she was called upon to follow the wandering fortunes of the wife of a United States' senator. Very fortunately for her, a sister had become established at Washington, in whose house she again met

the members of her own family, and thus found an agreeable home for those winter months, which other ladies, similarly situated, are rarely so happy as to enjoy. Almost always accompanying Mr. Adams, the alternative of Boston in summer and Washington in winter, continued with little intermission until the year 1808, when he resigned his seat in the senate of the United States. But in the ensuing year, 1809, a new revolution in her prospects and another scene awaited her. Mr. Adams was appointed by President Madison the first accredited minister to the empire of Russia; and as he was required to embark forthwith, she decided upon going with him, even at the cost of leaving with their grand-parents two of her children, to pursue their education at home, and taking only the third and youngest, then an infant of about two years old. They sailed from Boston early in August, and after a long and somewhat hazardous passage, arrived in St. Petersburg towards the close of October.

Here, again, Mrs. Adams was destined to be the first lady presented to the notice of the Russian court as a representative of American female manners and character, and here again she succeeded in making a favorable impression. But there were circumstances which rendered her abode at St. Petersburg much less agreeable to herself than it had been at Berlin. The great distance from America was not the only obstacle to communication. The extraordinary events which occurred in Europe at this period, rendered the difficulties much greater than usual in obtaining that information respecting those whom she had left behind, which was essentially necessary to cheerfulness; and the severity of the winter climate, together with the more formal and less friendly character of Russian society, did not contribute to its acquisition. Domestic sorrow, too, in the loss of an infant daughter, born during her stay there, threw its shadow over the scene. What universal anxiety marked the era, it is difficult in these quiet times to realise! For the civilized world was in arms; and while at one moment the desolating progress of Napoleon had almost touched the city in which she was then dwelling, and from which its own sovereign, the Emperor Alexander, was meditating a retreat; at another, the thunders of the British cannon were resounding from the walls of the American capital, within which her friends resided. Here were lessons of human vicissitude, in different quarters of the globe, which might well fix the mind in the contemplation of dark views of fortune, as well as the insecurity even of existence.

In this connection it is not unworthy of remark, that of all those persons sent from the United States as envoys to the court of St. Pe-

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tersburg since Mr. Adams, whose stay was of nearly six years, but one (Mr. Middleton) has been content to remain for any period of considerable duration. The reason may probably be traced to the diametrical opposition of the Russian habits to those of our own country, the harshness of the climate, and to the exclusion, for so many of the winter months, from any thing approaching to social communication with Hence, high as this mission is held in the rank of political distinctions, it comes in no very long time to be felt by the incumbent as an expulsion from American society little short of an honorable exile. Mr. and Mrs. Adams were themselves anxious to return home long before they did, but were prevented by circumstances, which made their stay even more disagreeable. The principal of these was the general The offer made by Alexander, of mediation between Great Britain and the United States, promised at one moment to make St. Petersburg the seat of negotiation, but it was subsequently transferred to Ghent: and thither Mr. Adams was directed to proceed, to take his part as one of the commissioners. This was in April, 1814, and the fate of the attempt at reconciliation appeared so doubtful, and the state of Europe so unsettled, that it was deemed best he should go alone. Thus, in addition to all the causes of a general or temporary character, which make a Russian winter, in ordinary cases, something of a trial, Mrs. Adams was destined to pass her sixth season alone—separated from her husband, and from all the other relatives or friends who had accompanied her out, but who had one by one dropped off to find their way home. This was not agreeable, but there was no alternative.

Spring, however, brought with it cheerful tidings of the probability of peace and of departure. The general pacification preceded the particular treaty between Great Britain and the United States concluded at Ghent but a short time; and upon this Mrs. Adams received a proposition to proceed at once by a land journey to Paris there to rejoin her husband. To accept it, notwithstanding the difficulties which might be in the way of execution, was the work but of a moment. For to her mind, what could be the terror of a solitary journey through the late theatre of a furious and bloody war, the plains and villages still bearing palpable evidence of its horrors, compared with that charming prospect of a return to more genial climes, to the company of an affectionate husband, and an approximation towards her long-absent children.

Those who knew Mrs. Adams in her later days only, will not be likely to imagine her as by nature robust, or by education bold. And yet few women of the age ever underwent more extraordinary fatigue

in her various journeys, or displayed more energy in the accomplishment of her undertakings. None, however, was so well calculated to test the strength of her nerves as that now in question. The passports of the Russian Government, however strong, and the reflection upon herself of the diplomatic character of her husband, however sacred, would, even in the most quiet times, have scarcely overcome, with many of the delicately nurtured female sex, the apprehensions of a departure in a carriage, alone, at a season still early for travelling, with a son eight years of age to take care of, and only menial servants of untried, and, as it proved, of very doubtful fidelity for her guard. In such circumstances, to be fastened in a snow-drift with night com ing on, and to be forced to rouse the peasants of the surrounding country to dig them out, which happened in Courland, was no slight matter. But it was of little significance compared to the complicated anxieties incident to the listening, at every stopping place, to the tales of robbery and murder just committed on the proposed route, so perpetually repeated at that time to the traveller; and to the warnings given by apparently friendly persons of the character of her own servants. corroborated by the loss of several articles of value; and, most of all, to the observation of the restless contention between jarring political passions, under which the whole continent of Europe was heaving until it burst forth at the return of Napoleon from Elba. Hardly a day passed that did not require of Mrs. Adams some presence of mind to avoid becoming implicated in the consequences of party fury. For even the slight symbol of a Polish cap on the head of her servant came near making food for popular quarrel. Such was the sensibility of the public mind at the time.

A less determined woman, upon hearing of the condition into which France was thrown by Napoleon's return, would have stopped short at some intermediate point, without venturing to complete her undertaking. Not so with Mrs. Adams. She dismissed her servants, both of whom professed to be themselves afraid of going further, procured others, and went on. But she had not gone very far before she unluckily found herself entangled with a considerable detachment of the wild soldiery, elated to excess by the arrival of their great chief, and then on its way to Paris to prepare, under his inspection, for that last scene of slaughter, the field of Waterloo. This was a very awkward position, as the troops seemed disposed to require from all around them the most unequivocal declaration of political faith. Mrs. Adams at once appealed to the commander of the detachment, and by his advice she was enabled to fall back, although not without the exercise of con-

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siderable prudence, until the last of the men had passed, when she diverged into another road, and by making a considerable circuit, avoided any further meeting. Having proved in this manner that calmness and presence of mind render many things perfectly practica ble which imagination at first invests with insuperable difficulties, she arrived in Paris safe and well, there to be greeted by her husband, on the evening of the 21st of March, 1815, immediately after that of the memorable arrival of Napoleon and the flight of the Bourbons.

The beginning of the celebrated hundred days! What an exciting moment to reach the French capital! crowded as it was with troops, collecting for the impending trial at arms, and its streets alive with that enthusiasm which, in its highest degree, it appears to be only within the scope of military heroism to excite. Whatever may have been the feeling throughout the country, there could not be a shadow of doubt in the mind of any spectator, that in the affections of the populace of Paris, as well as of the army, Napoleon was an idol. While, on the one hand, his appearance but for a few instants upon one of the balconies of the palace of the Tuilleries, was a signal for acclamation from the thousands who frequented its gardens to gain a glimpse of him; on the other, curses loud and deep, not unmingled with ridicule and con tempt, were every where to be heard uttered against Louis and the allies. Here was room for observation to last a lifetime! Here was room for testing even the contrasts of this world: for at one and the same moment the splendid reviews of a cavalry force rarely surpassed, were filling the square of the Place Carousel with its loudest and most spirit-stirring notes, and the vet unremoved collections of what the genius of centuries had hallowed, were spreading around them in the halls of the Louvre a sense of the solemn stillness and repose of the highest walk of art. Mrs. Adams was capable of appreciating the advantages thus thrown in her way; and to her, whose European life had carried her very little to the great French metropolis, this opportunity of seeing it at such a period, well rewarded her effort to reach it, and was ever considered among the most fortunate events in her existence.

But, however interesting Paris might be, there were ties in Great Britain to Mrs. Adams, where her husband's new duty as the Minister from the United States called him, which made her leave France with little regret. These ties were her children, who had come out from America to join her, and whose arrival afforded her a joy, for the absence of which no brilliant scenes could compensate. In itself, a residence in England so immediately after a war between the two countries, which had terminated not quite to the satisfaction of her pride,

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was not calculated to be productive of much pleasure; yet it may fairly be questioned whether, in the bosom of her reunited family, and in the sweet and modest country-seat in the vicinity of London selected for their habitation, Mrs. Adams did not draw as much enjoyment from her domestic feelings, as she ever did from witnessing any of the more busy and exciting scenes in which she had been called to participate.

Two years thus elapsed, when the election of Mr. Monroe to the Presidency became the precursor of another change. One of his first official acts was the appointment of Mr. Adams to the responsible station of Secretary of State in his administration, and this, of course, required his immediate return to the United States. Upon receiving the intelligence, he took passage with his family in a vessel bound from London to New-York, where he arrived on the 6th of August, 1817. after just eight years of absence from his native country. Mrs. Adams thus took leave of Europe, after having passed in it the greater portion of her life, and that during a period, perhaps, as remarkable for a crowded succession of astonishing events as any in the history of man. To have lived in such times, so distinguished for the presence of all that exalts, adorns, or merely gives lustre to human action, was something of a privilege; but to have moved in scenes so various and so distant from each other, among the principal agents in all the great events at different points, was the lot among American ladies of scarcely any, excepting Mrs. Adams. Nevertheless she returned to our republican circles unwedded to the habits of a court, her mind unawed by the splendor either of civil or military monarchy.

The performance of the duties of the State department necessarily required a residence at Washington, and the manner in which Mr. Adams thought proper to devote himself to them, devolved upon his lady the entire task of making his house an agreeable resort to the multitudes of visiters who crowd to the capital on errands of business. or curiosity, or pleasure, from the various sections of the United States, A large diplomatic corps from foreign during the winter season. countries, who feel themselves in more immediate relations with the Secretary of State, and a distinguished set of public men, not then divided by party lines in the manner which usually prevails, rendered the society of that time, and Mrs. Adams's house, where it most often concentrated, among the most agreeable recorded in our annals. Much as it has been ridiculed since, the "era of good feelings" had some characteristics peculiar to itself. For an instant, sectional animosities relented, the tone of personal denunciation and angry crimination, too gene-

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rally prevailing in extremes, yielded; and even where the jealous rivalry for political honors still predominated in the hearts of men, the easy polish of general society removed from casual spectators any sense of its roughness, or inconvenience from its impetuosity. Washington may have presented more brilliant spectacles since, but the rancor of party spirit has ever mingled its baneful force too strongly, not to be per ceptible in the personal relations which have existed between the most distinguished of our political men.

During the eight years in which Mrs. Adams presided in the house of the Secretary of State, no exclusions were made in her invitations, merely on account of any real or imagined political hostility; nor, though keenly alive to the reputation of her husband, was any disposition manifested to do more than to amuse and enliven society. In this, the success was admitted to be complete, as all will remember who were then in the habit of frequenting her dwelling. But in proportion as the great contest for the Presidency, in which Mr. Adams was involved, approached, the violence of partisan warfare began to manifest its usual bad effects, and Mrs. Adams became inclined to adopt habits of greater seclusion. When, at last, the result had placed her in the President's mansion, her health began to fail her so much, that though she continued to preside upon occasions of public reception, she ceased to appear at any other times, and she began to seek the retirement, which after her return to private life she always preferred. Mr. Adams continued till the time of his death, a representative in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, and this rendered necessary an annual migration from that State to Washington, and back again. as well as a winter residence within the sound of the gaities of that place; but while her age and health exempted her from the necessities of attending them, severe domestic afflictions soon contributed to remove the disposition. Thus the attractions of great European capitals, and the dissipation consequent upon high official station at home, though continued through that part of life when habits become most fixed, contributed nothing to change the natural elegance of her manners nor the simplicity of her tastes. In the society of a few friends and near relatives, and in the cultivation of the religious affections without display, she derived all the consolation which can in this world be afforded for her privations. To the world Mrs. Adams presented a fine example of the possibility of retiring from the circles of fashion, and the external fascinations of life, in time still to retain taste for the more quiet, though less showy attractions of the domestic fireside. A strong literary taste, which had led her to read much, and

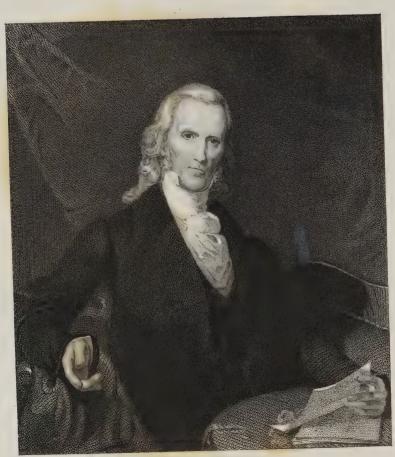
a capacity for composition in prose and verse, furnished resources for her leisure moments, not with a view to that exhibition which renders such accomplishments too often fatal to the more delicate shades of feminine character, but for her own gratification, and that of a few relations and friends. The late President Adams used to draw much amusement in his latest years at Quincy, from the accurate delineation of Washington manners and character, which was regularly transmitted, for a considerable period, in letters from her pen. And if, as time advanced, she became gradually less able to devote her sense of sight to reading and writing, her practice of the more homely female virtues of manual industry, so highly commended in the final chapter of the book of Solomon, still amused the declining days of her varied career.

Mrs. Adams survived the shock occasioned by the demise of her husband, with whom she had celebrated the golden wedding day,the fiftieth anniversary of their union,-more than one year, when on the 12th of April, 1849, she also experienced a severe paralytic affection not unlike that by which he had been first stricken down. She partially recovered, remaining disabled, in the power of active exertion. The city of Washington, where she had been attacked, now became her permanent place of residence, and she remained in retirement from the world, seeing and seen by only a few intimate friends and relatives, who could still rejoice in the cheerfulness and the patient resignation which she manifested under her privations. Blessed with the retention of her intellectual faculties to an unusual degree in that disease, at her advanced age, she continued for three years more to present an example of quiet and contented infirmity, as touching as it was beautiful, and a religious submission which shed a softened glow over the close of her brilliant day. Life terminated on the 15th of May, 1852, when she calmly passed away, just as the clock which she especially valued as a memorial of her departed companion, was striking twelve.

Such was the respect entertained for the character of Mrs. Adams in Washington, where, from having spent in it the greater part of the last five and thirty years, she was the most known, that both Houses of Congress spontaneously voted to adjourn over for the sake of attending her funeral, an honor never before paid to an American matron. The number of citizens who voluntarily followed her remains to their resting place, more strikingly testified her worth, than can do all the pomp and circumstance of woe not unfrequently lavished upon such as office has clothed with power, or wealth has supplied with favors to

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HUGH L. WHITE.

HUGH L. WHITE was born in Iredell county, North Carolina, in the year 1773. He was the son of respectable and influential parentage, of Irish descent. His father, James White, was a soldier in our memorable struggle for independence; afterwards a general of Tennessee militia, and served with high honor and distinction in the late At the close of the Revolution he removed first to Virginia, and then emigrated to Knox county, Tennessee, when Hugh was thirteen years of age. At the time of which we speak, Tennessee was a wilderness; and into this wild abode was the family of Mr. White ushered, with no defence but personal prowess, and no means of subsistence but what were seized in the face of danger and death. But the hardships and perils which the early pioneer had to encounter from the natural obstacles of the unsubdued forest and its terrific inhabitants, have been too often and glowingly described, and are too well known, even to infancy, to need relation here. But in these dangers and perils the family of Mr. White bore no ordinary share. At the age of nineteen Hugh volunteered as a private soldier in the Indian campaigns. In these he was soon distinguished as a brave, vigilant, and untiring soldier. He possessed a constitution peculiarly fitted for rugged duties—a constitution which was preserved in elasticity and firmness, almost in primitive vigor, beyond the boundary of three-score years. These scenes of his early life are interesting only as they were the rough school of discipline in which he acquired and strengthened those hardy Roman virtues which have distinguished his character throughout his whole public career.

The early education of Hugh L. White, was not as thorough and extensive as he could have wished it, and as it would have been under more favorable circumstances. The refinements of polished scholarship had hardly been introduced into Tennessee at that early day. But of the more practical and useful branches of education, such as

qualified him for the discharge of the immediate duties of life, he acquired the utmost that the schools of that day afforded. He was instructed in the ancient languages by the Rev. Samuel Carrick, and Mr. (afterwards Judge) Roane, gentlemen of no mean proficiency in scholarship. To these attainments he afterwards added a course of mathematics, under Professor Patterson of Philadelphia. In 1795 he left Philadelphia for Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where he entered the office of James Hopkins, an eminent lawyer, under whose superintendence he devoted himself with great ardor to the study of the law. Having completed the usual preparatory course, he returned, in 1796, to Knoxville, where he commenced the practice of his profession.

For the five succeeding years Judge White devoted himself unremittingly to the duties of his profession, and rose to high and honorable distinction at the bar. The science of jurisprudence was his especial study; and with such zeal and ability did he enter into the investigation, that he was selected at the early age of twenty-eight, from a body of able and experienced lawyers, to fill the office of Judge of the Superior Court; at that time the highest judicial tribunal in the State.

This seat he held till 1807, when he resigned.

As a lawyer, Judge White was one of the most distinguished in the early history of Tennessee. Nor was the bar of Tennessee at that time wanting in men of the first order in legal attainments. Whiteside, Overton, and G. W. Campbell were then in the prime of their legal celebrity, and with such men was he associated upon the bench. In legal argumentation, Judge White had but few superiors; yet he was always as fair and honest in debate as he was cogent. He never turned aside to take advantage of quibbles, and quirks, and senseless technicalities; but built his premises upon the plain and obvious meaning of the law, and with abstract truth as his guide, he seldom failed to carry his point. He viewed every thing like cunning and subtlety in the pleadings of the bar with detestation, as he always did the tricks and manœuvres, and intrigues of party politicians. There need be no better evidence that Judge White possessed every qualification of the able, profound, and enlightened jurist, than that he was afterwards offered, and would have been appointed on condition of his accepting a seat upon the Supreme Bench of the United States, which distinguished post of honor he declined. When he was elevated from the bar to the bench, he brought to the discharge of its difficult functions all the qualities already enumerated, and superadded to the essential attributes of judicial authority, great mildness and suavity of manners; yet was he always firm, and dignified, and uncompromis-

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ing when duty demanded. To maintain such an office with popularity and respect, both from the people and the bar, is the surest test of merit. Spurious talents or superficial learning cannot be played off undetected upon the bench. The strict integrity of Judge White was proverbial. His opinions were generally remarkable for perspicuity and strength, and many of them able specimens of judicial acumen and research. His long services in his judicial capacity acquired for him the greatest respect and esteem from the gentlemen of the profession, and conferred lasting honor on the bar of Tennessee. Such ample opportunities as were presented during twelve years' experience on the bench, and especially, when afterwards practised upon and enlarged in the course of his political experience, soon rendered Judge White thoroughly acquainted with the spirit and character of the laws of his country.

An interesting anecdote is told of this period of his life, quite characteristic of his republican simplicity. A student of law came a considerable distance to be examined by him, in order to obtain license. The young man had heard much of his ability and learning as a jurist, and expected to be much embarrassed in his presence; but he mustered courage, visited his residence, and on being informed that the Judge was on his farm, went out, and intercepted a man ploughing, and asked for Judge White. "I am the man," was the reply. "I wish to get license to practise law, and have come to be examined." "Well, sir, if you will be good enough to come down into the shade, I will attend to it with a great deal of pleasure." He secured his ploughhorse, got over into the cool shade, and took the young man through a most learned and rigid examination—found that he was well qualified, and, after inviting him to his house, and showing him every mark of hospitality and politeness, gave him a license.

In the year 1807 he resigned his judgeship, and retired, in a great measure, to his farm. Agricultural pursuits had always been a favorite occupation, even in the midst of laborious studies; and he would be frequently found in the intervals of his engagements, ploughing in his fields. There appears always to have been a congeniality between great and good minds in the pursuits of agriculture. We pretend not to divine the philosophy of it, or to determine, as has often been contended, why it is that patriotism exists in so much more elevated and fervent devotion in the retirement of the farm than in the busy throng of crowded cities. Whether the fact be so or not, certain it is that many of the noblest instances of sterling patriotism and high-souled principle that have ever figured in the drama of human actions, have been found

among those most devoted to agricultural pursuits. Hypocrisy and intrigue, which are the elements of contracted minds, have little to do in the retirement of the farm; but far removed from the long catalogue of human frailties and vices with which they are so painfully conversant in public life, the good and the great are gratified with the view of the brighter side of humanity, and have there to deal with characters and actions more congenial with the simplicity and greatness of their own natures. Like Jefferson, and Washington, and Madison, Judge White could be induced to leave his farm only when duty, which was the supreme law of his nature, demanded; and when that was performed, he left the rivalries and commotions of public life without a regret, to those whose business it was to foster them.

About this time Judge White was appointed District Attorney for the United States, which station he soon resigned. In 1807 he was elected a senator to the State legislature. While a member of this body he performed many important services to Tennessee, and was the author of a system of land law, for which Tennesseans, who recollect the frauds and controversies of the old system, will ever be grateful. The speech in which he advocated the measure was one of the first which he made as a politician, and was said to have been one of unusual power. In 1809 the judiciary of Tennessee was re-organized, and a Supreme Court instituted. In this high tribunal he was appointed to preside, although he was not a candidate, and was absent from the seat of government two hundred miles when the legislature conferred the appointment. He held this office for six years, and from his faithfulness and ability acquired the utmost respect and popularity from the people, by whose delegated authority he had been appointed. Previous to his resignation in 1815 he was elected President of the State bank. Under his auspices the institution flourished in a high degree, and acquired much character for the prudence and ability of its administration, and the stability of its operations. It obtained a standing in the west equally honorable to the State and beneficial to its financial concerns. He continued twelve years at the head of this institution, including the period of the late war—a period which will be long remembered in the political history of the United States for fiscal distrust, confusion, and difficulty; and which, but for the energies of one man, would have rendered bankrupt the credit of the whole nation.

But while engaged in the double duties of Judge and President of the Bank, he did not forget his country. During the darkest period of the Creek campaign, when General Jackson was surrounded with difficulties such as would have crushed any other man, his brave men

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contending not only with savages, but with famine and want, and sus taining life on roots and acorns, Judge White left the bench, and with a single companion, the Hon. Luke Lea, started for the wilderness, hired an Indian guide, and after several days and nights of perilous adventure, found the general's encampment. He told the veteran, that having heard of his difficulties, he had left his business, and come to share his toils and dangers. It was determined, after some consultation, that the Judge should return through the wilderness to Tennessee, and exert his influence in raising volunteers and procur ing provisions for the distressed and famishing army. While absent on this expedition, he missed several terms of his court, and by the laws of Tennessee the judges were paid only in proportion to duty performed. The legislature, in consideration of the great services he had rendered General Jackson, passed an order that there should be no deduction of his salary. But with characteristic magnanimity he declined the offer, and would receive no more than that for which he rendered actual service. He said that his country was in distress, that the aid he had rendered was without the hope of reward, and that he would receive none.

In 1817 Judge White was again elected senator by a majority approaching unanimity; and served with distinction the period for which he had been elected.

But the abilities of Hugh L. White were too distinguished, and too well appreciated by his countrymen, to be confined within the limits of a single State. He was appointed, in 1820, by President Monroe, one of the commissioners under the Spanish treaty, in conjunction with Littleton W. Tazewell and Gov. King. Previous to this time his attention had been confined chiefly to the laws affecting individual rights and private property. The rights and laws of nations had little connexion with the administration of justice in an interior State; but as the sphere of his operations was widened, he was found to possess mental resources corresponding to the increased demand. With such success did he apply himself to the details of commercial, maritime, and international law, that he won the esteem and confidence of his able colleagues—men who had been experienced, and profoundly versed in the science of public law. He held this appointment until 1824, at which time the commission expired. In the same year he was again unanimously appointed a Judge of the Court of Appeals, but he declined the appointment. In 1825 General Jackson resigned his seat in the United States senate, and Judge White was unanimously elected to fill out the term.. In 1827 he was again unanimously elect

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ed to serve the next six years. And yet again, amidst the hottest party rancor, the legislature bestowed their undivided suffrage upon him for another term of six years, in 1835.

We are now to review the life of Judge White in the most important and interesting scenes of the many in which he took a part. Hitherto we have viewed him chiefly as a jurist and a local politician. But his life and acts became now identified with national history and national interests. And from the character which he acquired in this political capacity, from the ability and faithfulness with which he discharged the functions of the high stations which he occupied, must he stand or fall to the people of this nation. In the year 1825 Judge White brought into our national councils great weight of character. At that time he had the unlimited confidence of every party in the government. During this era of great achievements in our political history-memorable for the revolutionizing of our national policy, for the demolishing of long-established institutions, and the building up new; for bold and untried adventure in the theory and practice of government—which will distinguish this era of our political history for ages to come-during all this mighty conflict of principle, Judge White was constantly upon the ground. He bore his part in them all, as friend or foe. This period is too fresh in the memory of all, and the measures too notorious to be detailed in this place. But during this comparatively short period of his public career, more weighty subjects were discussed, more doubtful points of national policy settled, more difficulties removed from the free administration of government, more political heresies broached and exterminated, than in any other period of American history of the same length. The whole theory of government was subjected to an inquisition, which spared neither the ancient, nor the venerable, nor the strong, nor the weak. In the scales of justice or honesty they were all weighed, and found the level, or the supposed level, of their merits. Its maritime and commercial policy was revolutionized. Its banking establishments upturned. The powers of the general government, in internal improvements and executive patronage, were scrutinized. The origin and nature of the federal compact was discussed with earnestness and ability; and its value calculated, and its fundamental principles bandied about with the familiarity of toys. With what character Judge White passed through these scenes, is known to every man in the nation

In 1832 John C. Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency of the United States, and the senate was left without a presiding officer. It was

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on the eve of that memorable session, when the debate upon the tariff had well-nigh severed the Union. The first talent of the nation was there congregated, and every man had arrayed himself upon one side or the other. The prize at issue was the Constitution. And the leaders of the respective divisions came armed with the resolution to carry their measures, though disunion on one side and civil war on the other were the consequence. Proud in the strength of conscious greatness, irritated by supposed aggressions or tyranny, and discordant to a degree that almost banished deliberation, they foresaw that troublous times were not far distant. It was seen that no ordinary mind could be able to curb the outbreakings of passion, and to maintain its equipoise through so doubtful a contest. In full view of all these difficulties, Judge White was elected president of the senate: and how he sustained the exalted expectations of that body and the nation is now a matter of history. The firmness, impartiality, decision, and dignity with which he presided over the stormy debate, proved that no false estimate had been placed upon his character.

The intellectual character of Judge White would bear a fair and honorable comparison with the first talent in the senate. As an orator, in the popular acceptation of the term, he is not so distinguished as many members in the house of Congress. He possessed little of that rich profusion of imagination which throws such a charm over the oratory of a Clay, or a Pinckney, or a Wirt. But as a reasoner and debater, he exhibited strength and cogency of argument on more than one occasion, which would rank him as one of the able logicians on the floor of Congress. In the discussion upon the Panama Mission he was particularly distinguished; and the combatants in that debate were no striplings in mind and attainments. The profoundest talent in the nation, and the deepest constitutional learning, were brought to bear upon it.

One of the most powerful efforts he ever made in the senate was on the morning after he received the tidings that the hand of death had torn asunder the tenderest fibres of human affection. It was his speech on the Indian bill. This question had occasioned great embarrassment and concern to President Jackson. Judge White was chairman of the committee; the weight of the measure devolved upon him, and procrastination was certain defeat. But he appeared in his seat, asked no indulgence, made no apology; and, showing a fortitude worthy of his character, made one of the ablest and most successful efforts ever witnessed in that body, and carried the measure. Such lofty and honorable views of the nature and obligation of a trust, such

intense devotion to its fulfilment, distinguished him in every station of life. This honorable and enviable fact in his history will be remembered when this generation shall have passed away.

At the election for President of the United States, in the autumn of 1836, Judge White received the votes of the states of Georgia and Tennessee. He retired from the senate in 1839 to private life, and died at his residence near Knoxville, on the tenth of April, 1841, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

8





John Randstyr





JOHN RANDOLPH.

The interest excited by the first appearance in public life of John RANDOLPH continued until he had passed away from among the living, and did not die with him. His aboriginal descent, extraordinary eloquence, and independent but eccentric course through life, seemed to unite in securing to every thing he said or did, an attention on the part of his countrymen, which has been given to but few of the great American family. He was born on the 2d of June, 1773, at Matoax, the seat of his father, three miles above Petersburg, in the state of Virginia. His English ancestors were from Yorkshire, and he was descended, through his paternal grandmother Jane Bolling, in a direct line from the celebrated Pocahontas. Like Sir Walter Scott, and other celebrated men, he appears, from his own account, prepared in 1813 for a nephew who was desirous to "know something of his life," to have received a very irregular education. He was sent to a country school at an early age, where he learned the rudiments of the Latin language, and had mastered the Greek grammar perfectly, when the state of his health induced his mother to send him to Bermuda, where he remained more than a year, losing all his Greek, but reading with great avidity many of the best English authors. After his return to the United States, he was sent, with his brother Theodorick, to Princeton college, where they entered the grammar school in March, 1787. He there attracted the attention of Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, the president of the college, who thought that he found, in the Indian descent of his pupil, some support to a theory, which he gave to the world in an Essay more remarkable for its ingenuity than its accurate statement of facts. In the year 1788, after the death of his mother, he was sent to college in New York, but returned to Virginia in the summer of 1790; and in the autumn of that year came to Philadelphia, with the view of studying law under the direction of Edmund Randolph, then recently appointed attorney-general of the United States. Beyond almost the first book of Blackstone, he seems to have done nothing

towards being admitted to the bar; and from that time till June, 1794, when he became of age, he appears to have led an irregular, desultory life, with scarcely a fixed residence, and no decided object of pursuit.

His reading, according to his own account given to a relative at a later period of his life, is so indicative of the man that any attempt to portray him would be defective without it. "I think you have never read Chaucer. Indeed, I have sometimes blamed myself for not cultivating your imagination when you were young. It is a dangerous quality, however, for the possessor. But if from my life were to be taken the pleasure derived from that faculty, very little would remain. Shakspeare and Milton, and Chaucer and Spencer, and Plutarch, and the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and Don Quixote, and Gil Blas, and Tom Jones, and Gulliver, and Robinson Crusoe, 'and the tale of Troy divine,' have made up more than half my worldly enjoyment. To these ought to be added Ovid's Metamorphoses, Ariosto, Dryden, Beaumont and Fletcher, Southern, Otway, Pope's Rape and Eloisa, Addison, Young, Thomson, Gay, Goldsmith, Gray, Collins, Sheridan, Cowper, Byron, Æsop, La Fontaine, Voltaire's Charles XII, Mahomet and Zaire, Rousseau's Julie, Schiller, Madame de Stael-but above all, Burke. One of the first books I ever read was Voltaire's Charles XII; about the same time, 1780-1, I read the Spectator, and used to steal away to the closet containing them. The letters from his correspondents were my favorites. I read Humphry Clinker also, that is Win's and Tabby's letters, with great delight; for I could spell at that age pretty correctly. Reynard the Fox, came next, I think; then Tales of the Genii and Arabian Nights. This last, and Shakspeare, were my idols. I had read them, with Don Quixote, Gil Blas, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, Pope's Homer, Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver, Tom Jones, Orlando Furioso, and Thomson's Seasons, before I was eleven years of age; also Goldsmith's Roman History, 2 vols. 8vo., and an old history of Braddock's War. At about eleven, (1784-5,) Percy's Reliques and Chaucer became great favorites, and Chatterton and Rowley. I then read Young and Gay, &c. Goldsmith I never saw till 1787."*

In 1799, he made his first appearance in public life as a candidate for a seat in congress, and was elected. He owed his success

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to his eloquence alone; for he possessed neither family influence nor connexion in the district, and was a mere boy in appearance. The all-absorbing political questions arising out of Mr Madison's celebrated Virginia Resolutions of 1798, of which Mr RANDOLPH was a strenuous supporter, were then deeply agitating the country. Patrick Henry, accused of having abandoned his early principles, appeared at the same time, and for the last time in his life, as a candidate for the assembly, avowedly in opposition to the resolutions: for he approved of the alien and sedition laws as good measures. This state of affairs brought these two remarkable men before the people in mutual opposition; and tradition has handed down to us an anecdote characteristic of both. Mr. RAN-DOLPH was addressing the people in answer to Colonel Henry, when a countryman said to the latter, "Come, colonel, let us go-it is not worth while to listen to that boy." "Stay, my friend," replied the veteran statesman, "there is an old man's head on that boy's shoulders."

Mr. Randolph found the party whose measures he supported in the minority when he entered congress. His fearless course, ready, sarcastic wit, and general power as a public speaker, soon placed him among the most distinguished of the opponents of the administration then in power, and attracted the attention and admiration of the party against which they were exerted, as well as of that of which he soon became the leader. The records of his exertions are widely spread and scanty, and he pronounced most of the sketches of his speeches to be inaccurate.* No collection of American speeches, however, has been deemed complete without some of them; and, imperfectly as they have come to us, the impress of genius is upon them all.

With the party which supported the administration of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Randolff, after a time, found himself in the majority, and he was for several sessions chairman of the committee of ways and means. It has been suggested, that with the majority his efforts were less propitious to his reputation than those which arose from the excitement of opposition; that business habits and discipline of mind were wanting; and that the position of assailant best suited his peculiar disposition, and was his true element. In 1806, he

^{* &}quot;The least inaccurate sketches of my speeches will be found in the 'Spirit of '76,' but they are extremely imperfect."—Letters to Dudley, p. 116.

joined the opposition, and is said to have declared that his own opposition to the then administration would be "perpetual." The journals indeed, of the house, from the period we have mentioned, exhibit him in the character of its industrious assailant; and the warfare which he carried on against it, in the shape of calls for information, in relation to the well known allegations against General Wilkinson, will be long remembered.

About this period of his life a change came over him, the cause of which even his friends could not understand; he became moody, morose, capricious, suspicious of his friends, sarcastic and bitter towards those he loved best, and a riddle to all around him. state of things was explained at last, in 1811, by a paroxysm of insanity, attributable to the ill health to which he had been subject almost from the time he arrived at manhood, and of which he seems to have had some lurking consciousness himself.* Of this malady he had frequent returns during his lifetime;† but upon political subjects his mind was clear; and many of his constituents seemed to think of him as the Mohammedans do of madmen, that on such subjects, at least, he was inspired, and they might commit their interests to his charge with safety. It will not be difficult to account, after what has been just stated, for the numerous instances of eccentricity which were made known to the world through every medium, and were used as materials for every sort of attack upon his principles and person.

On the 27th of February, 1808, Mr. Randolph united with his friend Joseph Clay, and fifteen other members of congress, in a protest against the nomination of Mr. Madison for the presidency. This proceeding, which may be considered as a declaration of war upon the administration which was to follow the nomination, gave an earnest of what his course would be; and he was true to the declaration. His speech on the 10th of December, 1811, was directed against the raising of an addition to the army, and against the war against Great Britain, which he saw approaching; and was strongly marked by the Anglo-mania which seems afterwards to have attended him to his last hour. He followed up his speech of the 10th of December, 1811, by moving a resolution, "that the

^{*} Speech of the 10th of December, 1811, in the house of representatives, on the second resolution of the committee of foreign relations, "that an additional force of ten thousand men ought to be raised," &c.

[†] Letters to Dudley, p. 203, August, 1818.

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president of the United States be authorized to employ the regular army of the United States when not engaged in actual service, and when in his judgment the public interest will not be thereby injured, in the construction of roads, canals, or other works of public utility." This resolution he supported in a few but very pungent remarks, which, however, brought to his aid but fourteen votes; the resolution, on the question being taken on its passage, being negatived by one hundred and two members voting against, and fifteen for it.

To the declaration of war itself he opposed all possible resistance. On the 29th of May, 1812, he offered a resolution, "That under existing circumstances it is inexpedient to resort to war against Great Britain." The remarks with which Mr. RANDOLPH prefaced the introduction of this resolution led to an angry debate, principally upon the various questions of order which arose out of the subject matter of the remarks, produced difficulty between him and the speaker, Mr. Clay, whose decision against him on the points of order was sustained by the house. The prefatory remarks to which we have alluded, involved the then existing state of the public relations of the United States with France and Great Britain, exhibiting a strong leaning against the former, and which, after he had spoken about an hour and a half, were decided to be out of order, because a member was bound to submit his motion to the house previously to debating so much at large. Mr. RANDOLPH chose to consider the decision as an "invention for stifling debate;" and he addressed, on the 30th of May 1812, an appeal to his constituents, the freeholders of Charlotte, Prince Edward, Buckingham, and Cumberland, which we give as affording the best specimen of his peculiar views and mode of reasoning, at the period of its publication.

To the Freeholders of Charlotte, Prince Edward, Buckingham, and Cumberland.

Fellow Citizens.—I dedicate to you the following fragment. That it appears in its present mutilated shape, is to be ascribed to the successful usurpation which has reduced the freedom of speech, in one branch of the American congress, to an empty name. It is now established for the first time, and in the person of your representative, that the house may, and will refuse to hear a member in his place, or even to receive a motion from him upon the most momentous subject that can be presented for legislative decision. A similar motion was brought forward by the republican minority in the year 1798,* before these modern inventions for stifling freedom of debate were discovered. It was discussed as a matter of right, until it was abandoned by the mover in consequence of additional informa-

^{*} This motion was drawn, it is believed, by Mr. Gallatin, but moved by Mr. Sprigg, declaring it to be inexpedient at that time to resort to war against the French republic.

tion (the correspondence of our envoy at Paris) laid before congress by the president. In the "reign of terror," the father of the sedition law had not the hardihood to proscribe the liberty of speech, much less the right of free debate on the floor of congress. This invasion of the public liberties was reserved for self-styled republicans, who hold your understandings in such contempt, as to flatter themselves that you will overlook their every outrage upon the great first principles of free government, in consideration of their professions of tender regard for the privileges of the people.

It is for you to decide whether they have formed a just estimate of your character. You do not require to be told that the violation of the rights of him whom you have deputed to represent you is an invasion of the rights of every man of you, of every individual in society If this abuse be suffered to pass unredressed—and the people alone are competent to apply the remedy—we must bid adieu to a free form of government for ever!

Having learned from various sources that a declaration of war would be attempted on Monday next, with closed doors, I deemed it my duty to endeavor, by an exercise of my constitutional functions, to arrest this heaviest of all possible calamities and avert it from our happy country. I accordingly made the effort of which I now give you the result, and of the success of which you will already have been informed before these pages can reach you. I pretend only to give you the substance of my unfinished argument.

The glowing words—the language of the heart—have passed away with the occasion that called them forth. They are no longer under my control. My design is simply to submit to you the views which have induced me to consider a war with England, under existing circumstances, as comporting neither with the interest nor the honor of the American people, but as an idolatrous sacrifice of both, on the alter of French Rapacity, perform, and ambition!

France has for years past offered us terms of undefined commercial arrangement, as the price of a war with England, which hitherto we have not wanted firmness and virtue to reject. That price is now to be paid. We are tired of holding out, and following the example of the nations of continental Europe; entangled in the artifices, or awed by the power of the destroyer of mankind, we are prepared to become instrumental to his projects of universal dominion. Before these pages meet your eye, the last republic of the earth will have enlisted under the banners of the tyrant, and become a party to his cause. The blood of the American freemen must flow to cement his power, to aid in stifling the last struggles of afflicted and persecuted man; to deliver up into his hands the patriots of Spain and Portugal, to establish his empire over the ocean and over the land that gave our forefathers birth; to forge our own chains! And yet, my friends, we are told, as we were told in the days of Mr. Adams, "the finger of Heaven points to war." Yes the finger of Heaven DOES point to war. It points to war, as it points to the mansions of eternal misery and torture; as a flaming beacon warning us of that vortex which we may not approach but with certain destruction. It points to desolated Europe, and warns us of the chastisement of those nations who have offended against the justice and almost beyond the mercy of Heaven. It announces the wrath to come upon those, who, ungrateful for the bounty of Providence, not satisfied with the peace, liberty, security, and plenty at home, fly, as it were, into the face of the Most High, and tempt his forbearance.

To you, in this place, I can speak with freedom, and it becomes me to do so: nor shall I be deterred by the cavils and the sneers of those who hold as "foolishness" all that savous not of worldly wisdom, from expressing fully and freely those sentiments which it has pleased God, in his mercy, to engrave upon my heart.

These are no ordinary times. The state of the world is unexampled; the war of the present day is not like that of our Revolution, or any which preceded it, at least in modern times. It is a war against the liberty and happiness of mankind. It is a war in which the

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whole human race are the victims, to gratify the pride and lust of power of a single individual. I beseech you, put it to your own bosoms, how far it becomes you as freemen, as Christians, to give your aid and sanction to this impious and bloody warfare against your brethren of the human family. To such among you, if any such there be, who are insensible to motives not more dignified and manly than they are intrinsically wise, I would make a different appeal. I adjure you by the regard you have for your own security and property, for the liberty and inheritance of your children, by all that you hold dear and sacred, to interpose your constitutional powers to save your country and yourselves from the calamity, the issue of which it is not given to human foresight to divine.

Ask yourselves if you are willing to become the virtual allies of Bonaparte? Are you willing for the sake of annexing Canada to the northern states, to submit to that overgrow ing system of taxation, which sends the European labourer supperless to bed? To main tain by the sweat of your brow, armies at whose hands you are to receive a future master? Suppose Canada ours; is there any one among you who would ever be, in any respect, the better for it? the richer—the freer—the happier—the more secure? And is it for a boon like this, that you would join in the warfare against the liberties of man in the other hemi sphere, and put your own in jeopardy? Or is it for the nominal privilege of a licensed trade with France, that you would abandon your lucrative commerce with Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, and their Asiatic, African, and American dependencies? In a word, with every region of those vast continents. That commerce which gives vent to your tobacco, grain, flour, cotton, in short, to all your native products, which are denied a market in France!

There are not wanting men so weak as to suppose that their approbation of warlike measures is a proof of personal gallantry, and that opposition to them indicates a want of that spirit which becomes a friend to his country; as if it required more courage and patriotism to join in the acclamation of the day, than steadily to oppose one's self to the mad infatuation to which every people and all governments have, at some time or other, given way. Let the history of Phocion, of Agis, and of the De Witts, answer this question. My friends, do you expect to find those who are now loudest in the clamor for war, foremost in the ranks of battle? Or is the honor of this nation indissolubly connected with the political reputation of a few individuals who tell you they have gone too far to recede, and that you must pay, with your ruin, the price of their consistency? My friends, I have discharged my duty towards you; lamely and inadequate I know, but to the best of my poor ability. The destiny of the American people is in their own hands. The net is spread for their destruction. You are enveloped in the toils of French duplicity; and if, which may Heaven in its mercy forbid, you and your posterity are to become hewers of wood and drawers of water, to the modern Pharaoh, it shall not be for the want of my best exertions to rescue you from the cruel and abject bondage. This sin, at least, shall not rest upon my soul.

JOHN RANDOLPH of Roanoke.

May 30th, 1812.

This appeal drew, on the 17th of June, 1812, from Mr. Clay, then speaker of the house of representatives, an answer addressed to the editor of the National Intelligencer,* the insertion of which is not

within the views or limits of this sketch, but which, though nearly twenty years have diminished the interest of the occurrence to which it relates, may still be read with pleasure and advantage.

The health of Mr. RANDOLPH was seriously affected in the year 1811; and he seems never to have recovered entirely from the effects of the attack which he then experienced; his life, subsequently, seems to have been "one long disease."* The idea of a restoration from change of air and scene, induced him to visit England in 1822. Of England, Ireland, and Scotland, he possessed, previously to having been there, the most minute and accurate local knowledge, derived, as he himself asserted, from books and conversation aided by a very retentive memory, and he sometimes amused himself not a little at the surprise it created. The attention he attracted upon his first appearance in London was very great, and many characteristic anecdotes of him reached this country. He went again to England in the spring of 1824, with the same hope of improving his health which led to his former voyage, and returned to the United States in the autumn of the same year. Disease, however, had taken such firm hold of him, that his subsequent public life received constant interruptions from its visitations.

In June, 1830, Mr. RANDOLPH was appointed, by president Jackson, minister to Russia upon the recall of Mr. Middleton. He sailed shortly after his appointment, and arrived in London in July, from whence he reached St. Petersburg in September following. His stay in Russia was very short; the severity of the climate was ill adapted to the state of extreme infirmity under which he was suffering, and he returned to London, where, on the 26th of December, 1830, he delivered a speech at the lord mayor's dinner. Many rumors of the extraordinary conduct and behavior of the minister of the United States at the court of St. Petersburg reached this country soon after Mr. RANDOLPH's arrival in Russia, were made public, and were seized upon with that avidity which affords such stringent proof of the predominance in human nature to enjoy whatever renders our neighbor less in general estimation. Mr. John Randolph Clay, the son of his old friend, who accompanied him as secretary of legation, deemed it right to repel the attacks which were made upon the strength of these rumors, by the publication of a letter, dated at St. Petersburg on the 17th of January, 1831, in

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which he asserted, distinctly, that the statements which had been given to the public on the subject of Mr. Randolph's behavior and conduct, had no foundation in truth. The appointment of Mr. Randolph called forth innumerable attacks upon the president, and upon himself; the most vehement of which were founded upon the allegation that he received the outfit, when he knew he could not discharge the duty of a minister; and an imposing parade of figures was made* upon the subject of the cost to the country of his mission. He returned to America in October, 1831, in a state of extreme exhaustion and weakness.

The tariff or "American system," as it has been sometimes termed, met with the most distinct opposition from Mr. Randolph. He seems to have held the doctrine, that the manufacturing interests were never, in any country, satisfied with the extent of the legislative protection granted to them; and he insisted that the tariff system was one which must end in the utter subversion of the rights of the states generally, and that it would be impossible for the slave-holding states to submit long to its oppression. His views are set forth in a letter dated November 22d, 1832, which he addressed to a writer in the Richmond Enquirer under the signature of a "Friend to Truth."

On the 20th of May, 1833, Mr. Randolph arrived in Philadelphia, on his way to New York, where he intended to embark for Europe, again to try the effect of a voyage. He was in the last stage of a pulmonary disease; and, after lingering three days, he died at the City Hotel in Third street.

Few individuals of modern times have attracted more notice in their own country than John Randolph; but it may be long before his true history and character will be portrayed; before the division of his life into periods shall furnish the materials even for a proper estimate of his views, feelings, and powers. It is conceded that among the orators of his own land, he was a star of the first magnitude, but that his aberrations rendered his lustre worse than useless. He drew an attentive audience together in congress more certainly than any other speaker; his sayings, in which the manner and occasion was often more than the matter, were in every man's mouth, and his fame extended throughout the union. But it has been said,

^{*} Niles' Weekly Register, September 24th, 1831, p. 69, where the amount is stated at 197,000 dollars.

that, while this was the case, he was brilliant, and nothing more; that he wanted sound, efficient sense, and useful knowledge, and was thus deficient in the most essential qualifications for the station he held in the councils of his country; that, like Cassandra, he was listened to, but never heeded: and was a living example that talent without wisdom leads to nothing. That with all the fame acquired by his eloquence, he was without any real influence, and that while assemblages were gathered together whenever he delivered one of his brilliant harangues, no man set the smallest value upon his opinion. It has been peremptorily denied that he was a statesman; though his career has exhibited him always in the front rank of whatever party he chose to ally himself to, his efforts have been deemed as injurious to his political friends as to their adversaries; and that his whole life was an exhibition of the futility of a mere man of genius, whose career was signalized by words, but left no deeds or great public acts to perpetuate his memory. Let us hope, however, that one day some one from among those who knew him best, may give us the truth in regard to one of the most remarkable of men, whose race was run, and whose voice was loudest in the council of the nation during some of the most difficult periods of existence; it seems almost impossible that such great and general interest and curiosity should have been excited by a mere talker, and that after a long and active life devoted almost exclusively to public affairs, he should have been gathered to his fathers having achieved nothing.





William G. G. Clailones



On the 20th December, 1803, the beautiful, rich, and extensive region of Louisiana, having been ceded to the United States by France, was formally surrendered to the republic. The American commissioner on this occasion was invested with the title and powers of intendant and governor-general of the province, as exercised under the former French and Spanish dominion. To him was conferred almost unbounded authority; upon him rested the delicate task of reconciling to a new dominion, and organizing into a new government, a people long inured to forms and usages entirely different. Though yet but in the spring of life, no man could have exercised the former with greater mildness and moderation, none could have performed the latter with more judgment and ability. When he came, followed by a gallant band of Americans, to unfurl the banner of his country over its new territories, all were pleased with the blandness of his manners and the beauty of his person; all were astonished to see so young a man invested with so high a trust: but the subsequent virtue and wisdom of his measures during a long and tempestuous administration of thirteen years, excited the love and admiration of all, and have left in the memory of his coun trymen of Louisiana a monument more lasting than the marble which they have consecrated to his virtues. The American who in this high station thus did honor to himself, and to the judgment of the distin guished statesman who appointed him, was WILLIAM CHARLES COLE CLAIBORNE, the subject of the present memoir.

Governor Claiborne was born in Virginia, of a family who had been settled in that state for nearly two hundred years. When the revolution broke out, it is believed that without an exception his family took the side of the people against arbitrary government, and continued their efforts, in common with their countrymen, until the glorious result of the contest. The subject of our sketch was at the close of the revo-

lution a mere child, and hence could not have been an actor in it; but he soon learned to appreciate the magnitude of the task our fathers had accomplished, and the perils through which it was achieved. His own father had shared its toils, and it was the custom of the old gentleman, in his retreat, to recount to his children the exploits of the American soldiers, the hardships they had encountered, the battles they had fought, and the victories won. All was painted in glowing colors, even to the horrors of the prison-ships, and the brutality of the British soldiery, who were often guilty of horrible atrocities. Endowed with some learning, a fine imagination, and an eloquence bold and expressive, he thus early impressed on the minds of his sons an invincible attachment to free government; a determination, when necessary, to lift their arms in its defence; and an abhorrence for whoever would raise a parricidal hand upon the fair fabric of American liberty. Mr. Claiborne, however, could leave no inheritance to his children, but education and this warm patriotism which he so early inspired: youthful indiscretions in part, but principally an honorable zeal in the service of his country, had dispersed the wealth which he had inherited from his fathers. Thus the principles of WILLIAM, the second of his four sons, may be said to have been fixed when he was yet only eight years of age; they were then, what they remained through life, eminently republican. At that early age he excited the admiration of Mr. Eldridge Harris, the worthy president of the Richmond academy, when he saw this motto which his scholar William had written in his Latin grammar, "Cara patria, carior libertas; ubi est libertas, ibi est mea patria."

Young CLAIBORNE having spent a short time at the college of William and Mary, which he left on account of improper conduct of one of the ushers towards him, returned to the Richmond academy, and there acquired a thorough knowledge of his own, with the Latin and Greek languages, and the most important branches of the mathematics. While at school, he learned with great facility, and was universally esteemed and beloved by his professors and fellow students. At the age of fifteen, he was apprized that for his future establishment in life he had to depend entirely upon his own exertions; he determined, therefore, on his course, and carried it into immediate execution. He told his father he knew very well he could do nothing more for his children than educate them; that he had resolved on his course, and with his permission would enter upon it forthwith. "I," said he, "have some acquaintance with Mr. Beckley, clerk to congress; I will go to New York, and endeavor to get employment in his office: if I succeed,

my fortune is secured; if I fail with him, my education will recommend me elsewhere, and in as thriving a place as New York, I can surely do something to support me. All I ask is a small addition to my stock of clothes, and my passage paid to New York." The manly firmness with which he addressed these words to his father, the confidence which they implied in his abilities, virtue, and energy, excited the old man's admiration; he gazed with rapture on his enterprising son, and the plan was acceded to. Being now fixed in his resolution, Mr. CLAIBORNE left school, having first delivered a valedictory address to the professors and students. Previous to the delivery of this address, he had submitted it to the inspection of a learned judge, whose corrections he solicited; the next day it was returned with one or two immaterial alterations, and a note from the judge, which told his young friend "to continue moral and industrious, and he would become useful and celebrated; his path, with the blessings of Providence, would be strewed with roses, and lighted by the sun of true glory."

Thus encouraged, and fortified by a moral and solid education, with a mind embellished with stores of Grecian and Roman literature, with manners urbane, a tall and manly form, and a face uncommonly beautiful, Mr. Claiborne, not yet sixteen years of age, bade farewell to his family, and took his departure from Richmond in a sloop bound to New York. He was kindly received by Mr. Beckley, who gave him immediate employment in his office. The business which devolved on him, consisted in copying bills and resolutions of congress, and drawing original bills for members and committees of that body. These duties giving occupation to only half of his time, a portion of each day was devoted to reading political works of merit, attending to the debates of congress, and learning the French language. His evenings were almost invariably consecrated to the ladies, to whose society he was devoted through life. To Mr. Beckley he gave entire satisfaction, and subsequently repaid all the favors he had received at his hands. Congress soon removed to Philadelphia, and hither Mr. Clai-BORNE went. Soon after his arrival in that city, he became acquainted with Vice President Adams, and Mr. Jefferson, then secretary of state. By both these gentlemen, he was treated with great kindness: he afterwards proved his gratitude to both. Hitherto, Mr. CLAIBORNE had not fixed on any profession on which to depend for his future establishment in life; he had thought of the navy, the army: his dreams were sometimes golden, and he had even hoped to rise in the ranks of diplomacy. The bar had not yet presented itself to his mind in a tempting light; inconsiderable circumstances, however, have some-

times a decisive influence on the destiny of man; Mr. C. had for some time been a member of a polemic society, at which were discussed such questions as from time to time agitated the public mind. At last a question was proposed for discussion which Mr. C. had deeply reflected on; he determined, therefore, to enter the lists, and try himself at a public speech. He had now entered his eighteenth year; we have told the reader that his person was fine, his pronunciation was also distinct, accurate, and well-disciplined, and his tones of voice admirably adapted to public disputation: to these advantages he superadded, without being himself conscious of it, that grace of gesture which generally belongs to youth, beauty, and innocence. The success of the effort he made on this occasion was surprising; it elicited from a crowded audience reiterated bursts of approbation, and an enlightened member of congress who was present, declared "it shivered to atoms the arguments of his opponents, and bore off the uncontested prize of superior eloquence." The success of this effort gave an additional stimulus to his rising hopes, and he determined to enter on the practice of the law.

It should have been mentioned that Mr. CLAIBORNE had become intimately acquainted with General John Sevier, then a delegate in congress from the territory, and afterwards governor of the state of Tennessee. A friendship grew up between them which continued unimpaired during their lives, and of all the benefactors Mr. Clai-BORNE met with in the beginning of his career, there was none like this distinguished man, in the number and greatness of his favors. General Sevier had frequently advised Mr. C. to settle in the territory south-west of the Ohio; he stated the opening then was there for a lawyer, augured that his success would be great, and tendered his assistance and friendship. These flattering assurances determined his young friend. He accordingly gave Mr. Beckley notice that he intended to leave him as soon as another clerk could be procured, and in a short time took an affectionate leave of this good friend to repair to Richmond, where he remained three months. "During this stay in Richmond," says his brother, the Hon. Nathaniel Claiborne, "he was devoted almost entirely to the society of the ladies, and I have heard him repeatedly say, he had in that time been enabled to read only through the revised code, and a few chapters in the first volume of Blackstone's Commentaries. With this dispreparation, as he humor ously called it, he was an applicant for a license, and, strange as it may seem, he passed with great credit, as I have been assured by a gentle man who was examined and licensed at the same time. This my

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brother attributed to the polemic society in Philadelphia, which he considered at the time one of the best law schools in the union. Here he had acquired that general and enlarged view of natural, national, and municipal law, without labor and without expense, which years of study could not have afforded."

The object in getting a license in Virginia, was to enable him the more readily to obtain admittance to the territorial bar; without license in another state, a probationary residence was required. And now bidding adieu to the scenes of his youth, and the charms of large cities, he directed his steps to Sullivan county in the now state of Tennessee, and entered on the practice of the law. He continued at the bar, however, only two years, and his success in this short period was equal to that of any lawyer who ever went before him. No cause of moment and expectation occurred in a court where he practised, in which he was not employed. He was frequently sent for to the neighboring court in Virginia; and he commenced his career by receiving a fee of five hundred dollars, with his expenses paid, for coming to Virginia to defend a man on a charge of murder. At another time, he went two hundred miles to argue a case, in the decision of which was involved property to an immense amount, on the promise of a fee so large, that Mr. C. refused to receive it, although the cause was gained, and took only an elegant horse in lieu thereof. Instead of devoting, as heretofore, much of his time to gay amusements, he was now occupied with his books, and had already raised himself to the first rank in his profession; as an advocate in a criminal case, it is said he stood unrivalled. Juries have been often dissolved in tears, and enlightened tribunals have been deeply moved by his touching eloquence. He now determined to move back to Richmond, and enter on the practice of the law there. "My brother," says Mr. Nathaniel Claiborne, "had a quickness of comprehension, a goodness of heart, and a laudable ambition to be distinguished, in a degree we rarely meet with: but unfortunately he was constitutionally lazy, and when we see him marching with giant strides to eminence in his profession, we are constrained to acknowledge that he was urged on by the joint influence of virtuous ambition and hard necessity. He was attached to Virginia, and had left it with regret. The very trees that had shaded him from the summer heat were to him objects of veneration; these, were the beautiful seats of his early ancestors: they have long since passed into other hands, but the everlasting marble records the names of the first proprietors. There he had received his earliest instruction, and enjoyed the society of friends who loved him. The determination of

my brother to return was heard by the family with enthusiastic plea sure, and as the pressure on him for exertion would be greater, those who knew the powers of his mind were convinced that he must succeed."

An occurrence now took place which caused the resolution to remove to Richmond to be abandoned. The population of the territory having been ascertained to amount to seventy-five thousand, they demanded admission into the union, and a convention was called to form a state constitution. Mr. Claiborne was proposed and elected one of the five members for Sullivan county.

In the convention which soon after assembled, he appeared to great advantage. It was an enlightened body, and the constitution that issued from their hands is based upon the truest principles of liberty: in the formation of this constitution, WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE had a principal agency. The education he had received, the books he had read, the political circles he had frequented, all conspired to give him an imposing stand. He now stood for the first time before a whole state, and the goodness of his heart and the magnitude of the object, united to bring into action all the powers of his mind. His merit was universally acknowledged. Governor Blount declared, that making the necessary allowance for his youth, he was the most extraordinary man he had met with and that if he lived to attain the age of fifty, nothing but prejudice could prevent his becoming one of the most distinguished political characters in America. In the convention of Ten nessee, he began his political career, and without intermission he was thereafter in public life. General Sevier was elected governor of the new state of Tennessee, and among his first acts was the appointment of Mr. Claiborne as a judge of the supreme court of law and equity of the state. Mr. Claiborne was urged by his friends not to accept: but in vain. "My motto," said he, "is honor and not money; Governor Sevier is my friend, and if I can, I am bound to aid his administration." At the time of his appointment to a judgeship, and that too in the highest tribunal in the state, he was not twenty-two years of age. He continued but a short time in this office, when a vacancy occurring in the house of representatives of the United States, at the solicitation of several gentlemen who had served with him in the convention, he resigned his seat on the bench and became a candidate for congress. He was elected by an immense majority over his opponent, who was a man of talent, of great wealth, and extensive connections. A few days after his election to congress, Mr. Claiborne entered his twentythird year. This astonishing and rapid promotion becomes still more

surprising, when we consider that he had but recently come into the district, that he was poor, and had not the advantage of any kindred blood, even in the most remote degree, in the state of Tennessee. During the first congress that Mr. Claiborne sat in, he participated little in debate, but enough to show that he was an acquisition to the republican party. On the bill providing for the military establishment, however, the talents of the house were brought out, and the strength of parties put to trial. On this occasion, Mr. Claiborne delivered his sentiments; his speech was adorned with the choicest flowers of ancient and modern literature; it showed a heart deeply convinced, and earnestly engaged in convincing others; and if it discovered on its face less labor than other speeches bespoke, it was exempt from the venom which conflicting political prejudices had on this occasion developed: and the spirit of benevolence which it breathed, with the classic purity of the style, recommended it to general attention. A listener thus described it: "It seemed to be a spontaneous effort, the object was to persuade and convince, not to surprise; it had passion and feeling in every sentence, but it was the passion of the heart; satisfied he was right, he was bent on the conviction of others. So earnest was Mr. C., that he forced himself on the affection of the most indifferent, and excited the enthusiastic admiration of his friends: though he was zealous, it was without bustle; he was ardent, but not acrimonious; and if he fell short of some of the veterans who preceded him, you were loath to make the admission, while you reflected that he was the youngest man who had ever appeared on the floor of congress."

The constitution had not required that the electors should designate on their tickets the person they voted for as president, and the one voted for as vice president, but simply that they should give their votes for two persons; that the one having the highest number of votes should be president, and the one having the next highest should be vice president. Now it so happened, that Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr had an equal number of votes, and it devolved on the house of representatives to decide which of them should be president, the choice to be made by ballot, and each state in the union to have but one vote. The contest was extremely animated, for on this occasion the great federal and republican parties came into violent conflict. It was clear that Jefferson had been voted for as president, and Burr, vice president; they had been so nominated before the election, and in every vote given for the two, Jefferson was first named; when, therefore, it was understood that they were returned with an equal number of votes to the house of representatives, it was supposed of course that the public

voice would be obeyed, and Jefferson made president. The federal party, however, determined to support Colonel Burr; they knew very well the political sentiments of every member of the house of representatives, and they early ascertained that the election depended on the vote of Mr. Claiborne, the sole representative from the state of Tennessee. Mr. C., who, on this occasion had been reëlected to congress. was young and aspiring; the federal party knew, too, that he was poor. They flattered themselves that his vote might be secured, and indirectly proffered various temptations to obtain it. But Mr. Claiborne was too firm to be brought over: he knew the public voice, and thought it honorable and proper to obey it. The day at last arrived, when this great question of the presidency was to be decided, and the states were equally divided on the first ballot; several other ballots took place, and the result was the same, when the house adjourned. The news spread through the union like fire, and everywhere produced the liveliest sensation. The importance of Mr. Claiborne's vote was so well understood, that he went armed to the house; for what might occur from the extraordinary excitement that prevailed, no one could foresee: rumors were even afloat that the parties in the country were beginning to arm.

For several days, congress, and the country around, were a scene of terrible confusion: thirty-six ballots had been had, and the result was the same; an equality of votes for Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr. On every ballot, Mr. Claiborne had voted for Jefferson, and declared that as he felt satisfied that that gentleman was the choice of the people, he was determined to adhere to him, let the consequences be what they would. On the thirty-seventh ballot, the state of Vermont, that had hitherto voted for Colonel Burr, threw in a blank ballot, and Jefferson was elected. Mr. C. did what he considered his duty with a determined mind, and to his vote was owing, in a great measure, the result of this important contest.

Mr. Claiborne remained but a short time after this in congress. A serious misunderstanding having arisen between the people of the Mississippi territory and their then governor, many distinguished individuals of that country signified a wish for the appointment of Mr. C. as their governor, and, in conformity therewith, he received and accepted an appointment to that office in 1801, from President Jefferson.

Mr. Claiborne proceeded to his new government with all possible despatch. He reached the beautiful hills of Natchez on the 23d of November, where he was received with enthusiasm, and he imme diately entered with zeal upon the duties of his charge.

On his arrival, he had found the infant community over which he was to preside torn by local dissensions and personal animosities; by these different factions he was hailed with gladness, each hoping to make him the instrument of separate views or private vengeance; but he repelled all such attempts with firmness, though mildly, and taking sides with none, he made it his duty to hear all parties: to sooth and conciliate all, but to act for himself, with independence, impartiality, and justice.

Mr. Claiborne had lately married Miss Eliza Lewis, of Nashville. She was tall and graceful, with perfect symmetry of feature, and her wealthy and indulgent parents had early procured for her those advantages of education that add new charms to the female character. Thus blessed with the affections of an amiable wife, in possession of an independent fortune, and without an enemy on earth, Mr. C. spent two years most happily as governor of the Mississippi territory; and how far he enjoyed the love and confidence of the people during this period, may be seen by the following address, which he received after he had repaired to New Orleans, on a mission of still higher importance.

"To His Excellency William C. C. Claiborne, governor of the Mississippi territory, exercising the powers of governor-general and intendant of the province of Louisiana:

"The exertions of a public officer to confer happiness on the community by dispensing equal and impartial justice, and preserving unimpaired the constitutional liberties of the people, deserve the return of grateful acknowledgments. The citizens of Washington and its vicinity, therefore, pray your excellency to accept their undivided approbation of the firm and dignified measures of your late administration in this territory. If integrity of conduct, united to an enlightened mind filled with benevolence and universal philanthropy, are worthy of eulogium, all that those virtues merit we offer you as a just tribute.

"We congratulate your excellency on the unanimity and harmony with which the American government is received by our new fellow-citizens of Louisiana; this great and interesting event cannot fail to exhibit 'the fairest page in the volume of faithful history;' and the high characters who so ably managed the negotiation, from its commencement to the ever memorable surrender on the 20th day of December last, will share the warmest affection of the American people.

"On this auspicious occasion, we reflect with honest pride and exultation, that in discharging the highest trust and confidence reposed in your excellency by the president of the United States, nothing has appeared repugnant to the principles of inflexible justice, mingled with humanity. We earnestly desire the return of your excellency to the Mississippi territory. We anticipate no change by which we can gain either a better friend, or a more patriotic governor; but should the general government require your aid in another quarter, we tender you this pledge of undissembled friendship, and a sincere wish that you may ever continue to merit and obtain the confidence of your country."

In this conspicuous station, the highest in the gift of the general government, and to discharge which required judgment, prudence, and ability, far beyond the lot of ordinary men, Mr. Claiborne had a diffi

cult and perplexing task to perform. He had found the province of Louisiana in some parts almost fallen into anarchy, and throughout the administration every thing to reform or reorganize. Government had scarcely a nerve not wounded by corruption, and the business in every department was wrapped in mystery and intrigue, and had been left in confusion often inexplicable. Under the last Spanish governor, not only many posts of honor and profit in his gift were sold, but even when exercising the sacred character of a judge, he often vended his decisions to the highest bidder. Such being the character of the head, it is not surprising that the same depravities pervaded every branch of the system. The Louisianians, however, were a well-disposed and generous people; the greater part gave a cheerful and sincere welcome to the American government and its new institutions; but generally their defect of education, which had been the policy of their former rulers, their ignorance of the English language, and especially of political affairs, rendered them credulous, and often liable to become dupes to the machinations of individuals, who for their own ends are ever busy in exciting discontent in the public mind.

Thus Governor CLAIBORNE soon had to contend against the most unprincipled intrigues and factions, directed principally by some of his own ambitious countrymen, who had emigrated to the new territory, and who, envious of his authority and high station, used every means to thwart his administration, and to destroy him in the eyes of the people and of his government. So violent were these attacks, that the governor was brought to the field, to defend his character against the calumnies of a Mr. Daniel Clarke, who, by his wealth, his ambition, and his talent for intrigue, had acquired some influence in the country. He was severely wounded on this occasion, and confined a long time to his bed; but he sustained himself in his station, and persisted in his honorable course. He made it his especial care to protect and encourage the people he had been sent to govern; he used every means in his power to conciliate them to their American countrymen, and to spread among them the blessings of education, and of that political information, which alone could enable them to govern themselves, and to use and appreciate properly the great privileges of freemen, which they were to enjoy. He became sincerely attached to these his adopted countrymen; and from the purity of his character, the mildness of his official and private conduct, and the benevolence that beamed from his noble countenance, no man was better calculated to have reconciled and attached this new and foreign people to the government he represented. The Louisianians often proved their attachment to him, and

when they were admitted into the union as an independent state in 1812, they sanctioned the choice of the general government, by electing him governor, by their own free, and almost unanimous voice.

Mr. Claiborne, however, during this period had met with many private misfortunes. During the first summer in which he had been exposed to that climate so baneful to strangers, he had nearly succumbed himself to an attack of the yellow fever; his lady fell a victim to that fatal disease, his infant daughter accompanied her mother, and his brother-in-law young Lewis, who had followed him to Louisiana, fell in a duel. All three had expired on the same day, and were consigned to the same tomb. When time had allayed the grief of this great calamity, Mr. C. subsequently married Miss Clarissa Duralde, a young creole lady of great beauty and mental qualities, whom he had the misfortune to lose also, two years after marriage. His situation rendering the position of a single life in some measure unbecoming, he again married, in 1812, Miss Bosque, an accomplished lady of Spanish extraction, who survived him.

In 1814 and '15, during the memorable invasion of that state by the English, Mr. Claiborne was still in the executive chair of Louisiana. and had been active and highly instrumental in preparing the military defence of the country, and giving to General Jackson, previous to his arrival on that station, all the necessary information relative thereto He, however, voluntarily surrendered to the general, when he arrived, the command of the militia of his state, and consented himself to receive his orders; a measure which he thought a just tribute to the military experience of General Jackson, and which he adopted, also, to avoid to his state all the expenses of the equipment and movements of her militia, which would have fallen upon her alone had he kept the command. Thus, to his great regret, it was not the fortune of Governor Claiborne to have participated personally in the glorious contest of the 8th of January. He was marching rapidly, to join in the action of the 23d of December, at the head of a select corps of Louisiana militia, eager to meet the enemy, when he received orders from General Jackson to turn back immediately, and repair with his troops to Gentilly, to occupy the important pass of Chef-Menteur, where it was feared that the English had made a diversion; he obeyed, and reluct antly directed his march to that station, which he fortified, and remained in that command during the whole contest, which terminated in the memorable battle of New Orleans. Previous to this, an occurrence had taken place, which may be worthy here of insertion. All have heard of the adventurer Lafitte, whose piratical character was some

what extenuated by many traits of valor and generosity, and against whose depredations in our southern seas, the efforts of Governor Clai-BORNE and of the general government had been long directed, with but little success. The British commander of the naval expedition against Louisiana, aware of the intrepidity of this buccaneer, and of his perfect topographical knowledge of this region, when he approached the waters of the Mississippi, addressed a letter to Lafitte, offering a large sum of money, and a captaincy in the British navy, for his aid and counsel to the invading expedition. Lafitte rejected with contempt these offers; to prove his sincerity, he immediately sent the letter of the British commander to Governor Claiborne, by a confidential agent, and tendered his services with those of his band to the American government, provided all criminal prosecutions against them by the United States should be suspended. The governor immediately accepted the proposal, upon consultation with the proper authorities. Lafitte and his determined band were admitted into our ranks, and subsequently rendered the most efficient services at the head of our artillery; we need not say that they obtained the pardon which their conduct merited.

In 1817, on the expiration of his term as governor of the state, Mr. Claiborne was elected to represent Louisiana in the senate of the United States; but fate had here decreed a premature end to his career: he died in New Orleans, of a liver complaint, on the 23d of November, 1817, and in the forty-second year of his age. All ranks attended his remains to the grave with undissembled grief. The municipal authorities on the same day decreed a public mourning, and appropriated a sum of money to erect a marble monument to his

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Thus guided by the firm integrity, the virtue, and the sincere and warm devotion to his country, which particularly distinguished him, Governor Claiborne had sustained his character throughout his event ful administration, as a pure and devoted, an able, dignified, and virtuous chief magistrate. It was his lot to have been at the helm of the important post of Louisiana during all the critical periods of our early collisions with Spain upon our southern frontiers, of the Burr conspir acy, and of the invasion of Louisiana by a British army. In all these circumstances, he remained the able agent, and the faithful sentinel of his country upon the outskirts of the union. No man had ever enjoyed greater honors at so early an age: seldom has virtue been rewarded by a more rapid and brilliant career.





ingraved by W. G. Armstrong from a Painting by T. Sully in possession of B. W. Richard: 1-1

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JOHN M°LEAN.

'The subject of this notice is one of those remarkable men, who by the force of their own independent exertions, have risen from obscurity into great reputation, and into the highest offices in the nation. History has been said to be philosophy teaching by example; and this is more eminently true with regard to Biography, where every lineament of the character is marked with more distinctness, and is seen under a clearer light.

John McLean was born 11th March, 1785, in Morris County, New Jersey. When he was about four years of age his father removed to the western country. He remained a year at Morgantown in Virginia, and then removed to that part of the State which has since been erected into the State of Kentucky. He first settled on Jessamine, near where the town of Nicholasville is now situated; but in 1793 he removed to the neighborhood of Mayslick, where he continued to reside until the year 1797, when he emigrated to the then northwestern territory (now Ohio), and settled on the farm on which the son now lives. At an ealy age John was sent to school, and made unusual proficiency for one whose general opportunities were so limited.

The old gentleman being in narrow circumstances, and having a pretty large family, was unable to send John from home to be educated. He continued, therefore, to labor on the farm until he was about sixteen years of age, when his father consented to his placing himself successively under the instruction of the Reverend Matthew G. Wallace and of Mr. Stubbs, by whose assistance he made great advance in the study of the languages. During this period, his expenses, both for board and tuition, were defrayed by himself; for so limited were the circumstances of his father, that he generously refused any assistance from him.

When about eighteen years of age young McLean went to write

in the clerk's office of Hamilton County. This employment, at the same time that it would enable him to support himself, would also initiate him into the practical part of the law, the profession on which he had already fixed his ardent and aspiring mind. The arrangement was, that he should write in the office for three years, but reserving a certain portion of each day for study; and at the same time he was to prosecute the study of law under the direction of Arthur St. Clair, an eminent counsellor, the son of the illustrious General of that name. It is in this way that a mind animated by a genuine ambition, and firm and determined in its purposes, is frequently able to overcome the greatest difficulties, and to show with how much ease industry and virtue can triumph over all the disadvantages of obscurity and poverty.

During his continuance in the office, young McLean was indefatigable in the prosecution of his double duties. He also became a member of a debating society, the first which was formed in Cincinnati; and it is a fact entitled to notice, that most of the young men who contributed to its formation have since distinguished themselves in the public service of their country. Young McLean took an active part in the discussions which were held in this society. The notice which his efforts attracted still further confirmed him in the determination which he had already taken not to aim at any ordinary mark, but to make the highest intellectual distinction the prize of his

ambition.

In the spring of 1807, Mr. McLean was married to Miss Rebecca Edwards, daughter of Dr. Edwards, formerly of South Carolina; a lady who, to the most amiable manners, united the utmost benovolence of character, and presided over the cares of a large family with the greatest judgment and discretion. She died in December, 1840.

In the autumn of the year 1807, Mr. McLean was admitted to the practice of the law, and settled at Lebanon. Here he immediately attracted notice, and soon rose into a lucrative practice at the bar. In October, 1812, he was elected to congress in the district in which he

resided, by a very large majority over both his competitors.

From his first entrance upon public life Mr. McLean was identified with the democratic party. He was an ardent supporter of the war and of the administration of Mr. Madison; not that he was the blind nd undistinguishing advocate of every measure which was proposed by his party; for he who will take the trouble to turn over the public journals of that period, will find that his votes were mainly given in reference to principle, and that the idea of supporting a dominant

JOHN McLEAN.

party, merely because it was dominant, did not influence his judgment, or withdraw him from the high path of duty which he had marked out for himself. He was well aware that the association of individuals into parties was sometimes absolutely necessary to the prosecution and accomplishment of any great public measure. This he supposed was sufficient to induce the members composing them, on any little difference with the majority, to sacrifice their own judgment to that of the greater number, and to distrust their own opinions when they were in contradiction to the general views of the party. But as party was thus to be regarded as itself only an instrument for the attainment of some great public good, the instrument should not be raised into greater importance than the end, nor any clear and undoubted principle of morality be violated for the sake of adhering to party. Mr. McLean often voted against his political friends; and so highly were both his integrity and judgment estimated, that no one of the democratic party separated himself from him on that account. nor did this independent course in the smallest degree diminish the weight which he had acquired among his own constituents.

The first session which he attended was the extra session in the summer after the declaration of war. At this session, the tax bills were passed to sustain the war. The law which was passed to indemnify individuals for property lost in the public service was originated by Mr. McLean, and very naturally contributed to add to the reputation with which he had set out in public life. At the ensuing session he introduced a resolution, instructing the proper committee to inquire into the expediency of giving pensions to the widows of the officers and soldiers who had fallen in the military service, which was afterwards sanctioned by law. At this session he also delivered a very able and effective speech in defence of the administration in the prosecution of the war. This was published in the leading journals of that day, and gave an earnest of the future eminence which our subject was destined to attain.

Mr. McLean was a member of the committees of foreign relations and on the public lands.

In the fall of 1815 he was re-elected to Congress with the same unanimity as before. During the same year he was solicited to become a candidate for the senate, which he declined, inasmuch as the House seemed at that time to present the widest arena for the display f talents and for the acquisition of public fame. Mr. McLean was at this period barely eligible to a seat in the senate, having just attained his thirtieth year.

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Finding that the expenses of a family were greater than the com pensation he received as a member of Congress, and having no other resources than were derived from his personal exertions, he consented to become a candidate for the bench of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and was elected to that office in 1816, unanimously. The duties of this station he discharged with great ability. His mind seemed to combine all the leading qualities which are requisite in a Judge, and his advancement to the office was felt to be a public advantage to the whole State. Meanwhile his reputation abroad was increasing in proportion; and in the summer of 1822 Mr. Monroe appointed him Commissioner of the General Land Office. The emoluments of this office were larger than the salary of Judge. This was a consideration which was entitled to great weight. Judge McLean had a growing family, whom he was anxious to educate; and at the same time that he would now be better able to accomplish this darling object, the schools in the district would present a better opportunity for attaining the higher branches of education. He remained in this station, however, only until the first of July, 1823, when he was appointed Postmaster-

Many of his friends endeavored to dissuade him from accepting this office. They urged that the former incumbents had found its duties exceedingly arduous, while at the same time they were not exempted from a large share of that abuse and calumny which is so often wantonly and indiscriminately heaped upon the public servants. It was argued by many that no one could acquire reputation in the office. But Judge McLean determined to repose upon the virtue and intelligence of the people, and he went into the office with the determination of devoting his days and nights to the discharge of its duties.

The finances of the department were in a low condition, and it did not possess the public confidence. But immediately order was restored, and the public confidence revived. And it soon became evident how easy it is to manage the most complicated business when the requisite ability and industry are put in requisition for the task. In a short time the finances of the department were in a most flourishing condition; despatch and regularity were given to the mails, and the commercial intercourse of the whole country was prosecuted with the utmost celerity and ease.

Inefficient contractors were dismissed, and the same course was adopted with regard to the postmasters and other agents of the department. Judge McLean controlled the entire action of the department. The whole correspondence was superintended and directed by him.

JOHN McLEAN.

He gave his undivided and personal attention to every contract which was made or altered. All appointments, all charges against postmasters, were acted on by him. In short, there was nothing done, involving the efficiency or character of the department, which was not done under his immediate sanction.

When he accepted the office, the salary of the Postmaster-Genera was four thousand dollars. A proposition was made to increase it to six thousand, and was sanctioned by the House of Representatives, by an almost unanimous vote, in 1827. There were, indeed, very few votes against it; and some of the members who were opposed to it, regretted that they were compelled to pursue that course. In the senate, the bill passed also, almost unanimously. Mr. Randolph voted against it, and said the salary was for the officer and not for the office; and he proposed to vote for the bill if the law should be made to expire when Judge McLean left the department.

During the whole period that the affairs of the department were administered by Judge McLean, he had, necessarily, a most difficult part to act. The country was divided into two great parties, animated by the most determined spirit of rivalry, and each bent upon advancing itself to the lead of public affairs. A question of great import was now started, whether it was proper to make political opinions the test of qualification for office. Such a principle had been occasionally acted upon during preceding periods of our history, but so rarely, as to constitute the exception rather than the rule. It had never become the settled and systematic course of conduct of any public officer. Doubtless every one is bound to concede something to the temper and opinions of the party to which he belongs, otherwise party would be an association without any connecting bond of alliance: but no man is permitted to infringe any one of the great rules of morality and justice for the sake of subserving the interests of his party. It cannot be too often repeated, nor too strongly impressed upon the public men of America, that nothing is easier than to reconcile these two apparently conflicting views. The meaning of party is that it is an association of men for the purpose of advancing the public interests. Men flung together, indiscriminately, without any common bond of alliance, would be able to achieve nothing great and valuable; while, united together, to lend each other mutual support and assistance, they are able to surmount the greatest obstacles, and to accomplish the most important ends. This is the true notion of party. It imports com bined action, but does not imply any departure from the great principles of truth and morality. So long as the structure of the human

mind is so different in different individuals, there will always be a wide scope for diversity of opinion as to public measures; but no foundation is yet laid in the human mind for any material difference of opinion as to what constitutes the great rule of justice.

The course which was pursued by Judge McLean was marked by the greatest wisdom and moderation. Believing that every public officer held his office in trust for the people, he determined to be influenced by no other principles, in the discharge of his public duties, than a faithful performance of the trust committed to him. No individual was removed from office by him on account of his political opinions. In making appointments, where the claims and qualifications of individuals were equal, and at the same time one was known to be friendly to the administration, he felt himself bound to appoint the one who was friendly. But when persons were recommended for office, it was not the practice to name, as a recommendation, that they were friendly to the administration. In all such cases the man who was believed to be the best qualified was selected by the department.

On the arrival of General Jackson at Washington, after his election, and when he was about selecting the members of his cabinet, Judge McLean was sent for to ascertain whether he was willing to remain at Washington. Gen. Jackson having stated the object he had in view in requesting an interview, the Judge remarked to him, before he submitted any proposition on the subject, that he was desirous to explain to him the line of conduct which he had hitherto pursued. He observed, that the General might have received the impression from some of the public prints that the Postmaster-General had wielded the patronage of his office for the purpose of advancing the General's election to the Presidency: that he wished it distinctly to be understood that he had done no such thing, and that if he had pursued such a course, he would deem himself unworthy of the confidence of the President elect, or of any honorable man. The General replied with warm expressions of regard and confidence, that he approved of his course, and wished him to remain in the post-office department. He at the same time expressed regret that circumstances did not enable him to offer the Judge the Treasury department. The War and the Navy departments were subsequently tendered to him, but he declined them both. Afterwards Gen. Jackson sent for him, expressed great regret at his leaving Washington, and made unbounded professions of friendship it he would consent to remain. But the Judge's resolution had been taken, and he was determined to adhere to it. The spirit of party

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had become unusually bitter and acrimonious, and threatened to over leap all the fences with which it had been hitherto confined. He believed that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for him to pursue the even and measured course which he had hitherto followed with so much credit to himself and advantage to the nation. Retirement from political life seemed, under such circumstances, most desirable. The President, however, wishing to avail himself of abilities which had been exerted so long in behalf of the public welfare, offered him the place of Judge of the Supreme Court, the highest judicial station in the country; and on his signifying that he would accept, he was immediately nominated, and the nomination ratified by the senate.

Soon after this appointment many of the public journals in the northern, middle, and western states introduced his name to the public as a candidate for the presidency at the succeeding election. Many of the opposition papers adhered to Mr. Clay, and the name of Mr. Calhoun was brought out in some parts of the South. The Anti-Masonic party showed a strong disposition to rally upon Judge McLean, and it was clear that that party could not elect, unless the other elements of opposition should unite with them.

The Anti-Masons met in convention in the fall of the year 1831, and Judge McLean addressed a letter to the members of the convention, declining a nomination. In this letter he declared, that "If by a multiplicity of candidates, an election by the people should be prevented, he should consider it a national misfortune. In the present agitated state of the public mind, an individual who should be elected to the chief magistracy by less than a majority of the votes of the people, could scarcely hope to conduct successfully the business of the nation. He should possess in advance the public confidence, and a majority of the suffrages of the people is the only satisfactory evidence of that confidence."

Shortly after the re-election of Gen. Jackson, his name was again brought forward, in the first instance by a nomination of the people in Baltimore, which was followed by similar nominations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, and several other States. A majority of the members of the Ohio legislature also nominated him for the same place. At length, in August, 1835, he addressed a letter to the chairman of one of the principal committees, in which he expressed the same sentiments he had declared on the preceding occasion. He was aware that this course would discourage his friends, but he was not desirous to attain the office, except on such terms as would enable

him to carry out those principles which would elevate and tranquillize the political action of the country.

For several years Judge McLean has been the only survivor of the members of the Supreme Court on the bench, at the time he was appointed: Washington was the first who was stricken down, after that period, from that elevated tribunal. His place was filled by Judge Baldwin, who has also fallen. Johnson next followed the demise of Washington. His place was filled by the appointment of Mr. Justice Wayne. The shaft of death then brought to the dust Chief Justice Marshall, who had long been the chief ornament of the bench. Judge Barbour was appointed to fill his vacancy; and he too has fallen; and Mr. Justice Daniel is his successor. Judge Duval resigned under the pressure and infirmity of age, and shortly after died; he was succeeded by Chief Justice Taney. Judge Thompson was the next victim of the fell destroyer, and Mr. Justice Nelson succeeded him. Mr. Justice Grier succeeded Judge Baldwin. Judge Story, whose learning and ability gave renown to that tribunal, was the last of the old bench who fell, leaving Judge McLean the survivor of the court as it was in 1829. Judge Woodbury succeeded Judge Story, and he too has fallen, after a short career; and Judge Curtis is his successor.

In 1837, two Judges were added, making the number nine. Judges Catron and McKinley were appointed to the seats thus created.

The labors of the Judges of the Supreme Court, in their extent and importance, are not appreciated except by those of the legal profession, who occasionally argue causes in that court. On an average fifteen hours in every twenty-four, Sundays excepted, the Judges are laboriously engaged in the performance of their duties. Every part of these require research and intense thought. In hearing arguments in court, the mind must be engaged to the exclusion of other subjects; and in weighing the arguments and looking into the records in each case, and in discussing the legal questions in consultation, as well as writing opinions, the mind is constantly on the stretch. No duties performed by public officers of the government are as exhausting, mentally and physically. Yet it is a singular fact that Judge McLean has not been absent, except one or two days, at the session of the Supreme Court, since he took his seat in January, 1830. This cannot be said of any other Judge.

The powers of that court are more extensive than those which have ever been committed to any other tribunal. It takes cognizance of controversies between states; and where an act of the legislative power, state or federal is in conflict with the constitution of the Union, it has

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the power to declare the act void. No questions can arise under the laws of nations, the commercial, or the maritime law, the civil, or the laws of real property, but what may be considered and decided by the Supreme Court. In its hands are deposited the balance power of the nation, and on a faithful discharge of its duties, depend in no inconsiderable degree, the prosperity and permanancy of the government. These great duties have at all times, and under all circumstances, been discharged by that high tribunal in such manner as to receive in a very large degree the public confidence. Whilst the political and executive branches of the government, have been subjected to many changes, which have endangered the great interests of the nation, and sometimes seriously involved the integrity of the Union, no party or body of men have undertaken to deride the powers of the Supreme Court of the Union; and in the most perilous party times, the parties of every hue have looked to that tribunal as the hope of the nation.

Causes involving local rights and feelings may produce much excitement, but resistance to a judgment or decree of the Supreme Court has been rarely threatened, and never carried into effect. Such an attempt has always been frowned upon by the friends of order and good government. And when the day shall come that an organized power, under the auspices of state sovereignty, or otherwise, shall successfully oppose the solemn decisions of that court, it will be followed by the disorganization of the government.

Judge McLean has taken a prominent part in all the leading questions, constitutional or otherwise, which have been decided since he took a seat on the bench. In some of them he delivered the opinion of the court, in others he gave his individual opinion, coinciding in the result with the majority of his brethern, and in some cases he dissented and assigned his reasons for doing so.

From the nature of the duties of the supreme bench, and the durable manner in which the acts of each of its members are spread out before the community, a judgment will be made up by the public, as to his ability and fitness for the place, which no effort, friendly or hostile, can materially change. His monuments in the reports of that tribunal, for good or for evil, are written in undying words, and must sustain or depress his public character in all time to come. But few comparatively are called to pass this awful ordeal. Some have passed it, who no longer have an interest in human concerns, but who shed so clear and steady a light upon their path, that throughout the annals of civilization and the common law, it will be regarded. A Judge of the Supreme Court must rest upon his personal qualifications for his

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public character, and no man has more reason to rejoice in this arrangement than Judge McLean.

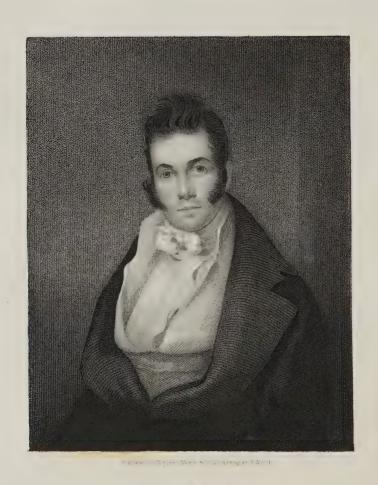
As evidences of the high esteem in which Judge McLean is held by those most competent to judge of his intellectual and moral excellencies, we may state that the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, has been conferred upon him by Harvard University, at Cambridge, the Wesleyan University, and by one or two other colleges in the United States. He has for several years past also been the President of the American Sunday School Union, the seat of whose operations is in Philadelphia.

We have already said that in 1840, the Judge suffered the severest affliction which such a man can endure, in the loss of the companion of his youth and the mother of his children. She died as she had lived, an example of virtue, and the triumphs of religion. In 1843, he married Mrs. Sarah Bella Garrard, daughter of Israel Ludlow, Esq., one of the founders of Cincinnati, a lady extensively known and admired for the graces of her person, the amiable charm of her manners, and the accomplishments of her refined and cultivated intellect.

Judge McLean is tall and commanding in person, well-proportioned, with an appearance indicating great physical vigor and intellectual energy. His general habits of life have always been very simple, and free from ostentation. His temper is highly cheerful, his manners are frank and pleasing, his conversation instructive and eloquent; so that he possesses in a very rare degree the faculty of inspiring confidence and warm attachment towards him in all who come within his influence, especially the younger members of the bar, towards whom he has always especially extended his kindness and courtesy. For many years past he has been a communicant with the Methodist church, and his public and private life has been in perfect harmony with his profession. Diligence, justice, and benevolence have guided him in his whole career as a citizen a lawyer, and a judge.

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Thomas day





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Science, and particularly Natural Science, has fewer holds upon the popular attention than the achievements of war or policy. Laboring to render some small service to the whole human race, and occupied in preparing the workmanship of their minds for the scrutiny of men in foreign countries and future ages, the votaries of philosophy may perhaps feel their task even more dignified; as its field is more extensive and permanent than the changes of empires. They lean, perhaps, habitually less to the applause of the age and country in which they live, than to that gradually accumulating sanction of mankind which begins in obscurity, and gradually diffuses itself—a scattered and posthumous fame.

"Not all at once, as thunder breaks the cloud:
The notes at first, were rather sweet than loud;
By just degrees they ev'ry moment rise,
Fill the wide earth and gain upon the skies!"

Yet as our countrymen have never shown themselves deaf to the praise of honorable actions, though achieved in a field in which the great mass takes but little interest, and as they pride themselves in the reputation of the men who have done honor to America in the closet, we do not fear to entrust the fame of a naturalist to those who cherish with a just delight the memories of Godfrey and Rittenhouse, or the scientific renown of a Franklin. The political institutions of America, and the abstract researches of the intellect, have at least this quality in common—that they are applicable to a wider field than a single age or nation, and that the lessons they teach, however desirable for those who are engaged in them, derive their principal value from their adaptation to the general service of mankind.

The family of Thomas Sav was settled in Pennsylvania from the time of its first colonization. His ancestors by the father's side are understood to have been Huguenots, who migrated to England in pursuit of religious liberty: and his lineal predecessor, in the fourth you. IV-8

degree of proximity, came to America with William Penn, accompanied by others of his family. The integrity and activity of these high principled and determined men were rewarded by a liberal share of the Divine blessings upon the external circumstances which surrounded them. They and their descendants generally lived to an extreme age, surrounded by peace and abundance, and enjoying the confidence and respect of their fellow-citizens within the colony. His grandfather, Thomas Say, a very patriarchal man, was united, early in the eighteenth century, to the religious society of Friends. Dr. Benjamin Say was long known in Philadelphia as a skilful and benevolent practitioner of medicine, and enjoyed in that capacity a large share of public confidence and patronage. Having been connected with military proceedings during the war of Independence, he joined that seceding portion of the society of which he had been a member, known by the name of Free Quakers.

The immediate subject of our memoir was born July 27th, 1787; and was the eldest son of Dr. Benjamin Say, and Anna, his first wife, a daughter of Benjamin Bonsall, Esq., of Kingsessing. In his early youth he was brought up in rigid compliance with many of the peculiar observances of his religious connexion. He received a considerable part of his education at their school at Westtown in Pennsylvania, and the remainder of it generally at their other institutions. He manifested at this period a remarkable docility of temper, a profound and confiding respect for his parents and teachers, and a great fondness for study. He pursued, in independence of any one's advice or suggestion, a very extended course of reading among the writers of his own language; a pursuit, however, soon destined

to give way to the accumulation of fact or natural truth.

At an early period of his life, a near family connexion with the celebrated naturalist, William Bartram, of Kingsessing, induced the young Sax, together with several of his acquaintance, to devote a considerable amount of time to collecting objects for their venerable friend's museum. This occurrence seems to have fixed his destiny. The student, young as he was, felt himself at once in his proper sphere. He immediately commenced the study of natural history; a pursuit which, though occasionally suffering a temporary interruption, was never wholly laid aside for the remainder of his life. The natural gaiety of youth, the attractions of fashion, the multiform allurements which surround a young man of easy fortune, and even the serious claims of a commercial establishment, were all capable of occupying his mind but for a short season, to be super-

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seded by those boundless cravings for knowledge which an Almighty power had placed within his breast. When, in compliance with the earnest wishes of his father, he entered into commercial engagements, the future naturalist was found by his friends occupied with those pursuits for which nature had designed him, and leaving the details of business to others. The commercial efforts proved unsuccessful; and Mr. Sax, deprived of his patrimony, instead of endeavoring to repair the loss, resolved to devote himself exclusively to Natural History. From this may be dated the commencement of his purely scientific career; he now began to consider science as a profession, and the loss of worldly property seemed the road to higher intellectual distinction and more enlarged usefulness.

The studies of the youthful naturalist, about this period, underwent a temporary interruption from his service as a volunteer in the last war between our country and England. In common with several of his friends and relations, he became a member of the first troop of city cavalry; and in that capacity proceeded to Mount Bull, where he remained for some time during the years 1812 and 1813.

On the breaking up of this military post at the conclusion of peace, he had already devoted considerable labor to the study of natural history and the collection of the natural productions of our country, when he found the arena of his usefulness suddenly extended by the formation of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences. When, on the 25th of January, 1812, a little association, which had previously met in a more private manner, resolved to assume this style and character, it was considered of importance that Thomas Say, though absent from the meeting, should be assumed as an original member.

The compliment thus paid to a modest and retiring man, shows, as was intended, the value which was then set upon his adhesion by the six others who thus associated him to their number. How amply his subsequent course justified their selection, the Academy has gladly testified. Such was the effect of private study, that his subsequent acquaintance had no opportunity of witnessing the infancy of his scientific powers. His elementary knowledge was complete, his acquaintance with classification adequate, and his power of observing and discriminating, accurate and ready. He was at once prepared for the difficult and laborious task of describing and cataloguing American productions in natural history. From this period, and for a considerable interval, his labors are almost exclusively directed in co-operation with the institution which he had assisted in founding.

In the tasks undertaken by Mr. SAY, almost every thing was to be done. The examination of the invertebral animals was to be introduced to the notice of our citizens; the myriads of minute objects of this class which attract the eye in our country, were to be investigated and described; the study was to be created, and the students

induced to prosecute it.

For these purposes his efforts were truly unremitting. He was attentive and regular in his presence at the meetings of the Academy; and during the intervals, may be said to have been always at his post. Those who were in the habit of visiting the building will abundantly recollect the uniformity with which he was to be found there. The value of such assiduous attendance, by such a man, may be easily imagined. Those who were disposed to visit the establishment were at all times certain of agreeable society; for Mr. Say was ever attentive to all reasonable calls for conversation, so much as even to surprise his friends. The effect of his liberality of disposition, with his amenity of manner, was peculiarly fascinating; and tended forcibly to produce in the same individuals a combined feeling of love for the science, and for the naturalist who had thus gained their affections.

This indefatigable and eminent man was at all times ready to bestow the fruits of his own researches upon those of his friends who felt an interest in similar pursuits. In this manner he was incalculably serviceable to young students in natural history by his advice and assistance; feeling far more anxious to extend the sphere of science in his country than to increase his own fame. This generosity in bestowing upon others the results of his own industry, so highly characteristic of true genius and real love for science, might be referred, in part, to a sense of his own strength. He had reputation to spare, and could hardly avoid feeling aware that the inquirer who grew in science must inevitably form a higher estimation of the

teacher of whose merits he thus became a better judge.

In May, 1817, the Journal of the Academy was commenced; and Mr. Say continued, during the next ten years, to be one of its steadiest and most laborious contributors.

In the autumn of that year an expedition to Florida was organized, for the purpose of procuring objects of natural history. The party consisted of Messrs. Maclure, Ord, SAY, and Peale, who spent the winter in that country, and collected a large number of specimens, with descriptions of many of which they afterwards enriched the Journal. In 1819 and 1820 the celebrated expedition to the Rocky

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Mountains took place, in which Mr. Sax took a part. His learning, his patient industry, and the confidence reposed in him by the officers of the detachment, are visible in every page of the narrative; and the very large portion which he contributed to the work is acknowledged by the editor. This embraces the whole of his favorite department, the invertebral animals, together with a great variety of additional subjects, to which, from circumstances of various kinds, it was convenient that Mr. Sax should direct his attention. In the expedition to the sources of St. Peter's River, &c., performed in 1823, at least equal labor, in proportion to the time employed, was bestowed by him upon the collection of materials, although a portion of the preparation for the press was saved him by his friend, W. H. Keating, Esq., the editor.

During the period of our narrative, compliments from abroad came thick upon him; on these, however, he set but a limited value, except where they were the means of extending or increasing a knowledge of natural history. His correspondence with distinguished foreign naturalists occupied a large portion of his time, although constantly confined to matters of science.

In the year 1825, on the foundation of the well-known settlement made by the suggestion of Mr. Robert Owen at New Harmony, Indiana, Mr. Say removed to that place, at the request of his friend, William Maclure, Esq., for the purpose of assisting with others in the erection of a school of natural science. By the munificence of the distinguished individual last named, he enjoyed, in the wilds of the far west, all the advantages of a splendid library, abundant facilities for making collections, and a ready printing press. The scientific world is in possession of two volumes, the second and third of his splendid American Entomology, and six numbers of his Conchology; all which were among the fruits of his industry while at New Harmony. The volumes of the Entomology were published in Philadelphia, the others in Indiana.

It was while at New Harmony that Mr. Say's domestic happiness was enhanced by his union with Miss Lucy W. Sistare, of New-York, a lady in every way qualified to add to the felicity of such a man. In addition to many elegant accomplishments, Miss Sistare possessed the advantage of a fondness for the same pursuits, and great readiness and neatness with the pencil—a talent which was employed to the advantage of the beautiful works of which we have just spoken.

Besides the elaborate description of a number of natural objects

collected at New Harmony, and also in Mexico during the tours in that country made by Mr. Maclure, Mr. Say found himself, at this late period of life, again involved in the cares of business and the superintendence of property. Amid the chaos of mind which the settlement presented, Mr. Maclure felt the value and necessity of old and tried friendship, tested honor, and untiring industry, in the care of his vast estates. In none could he confide with more unhesitating promptitude than in the subject of our memoir; and he who in early youth had sacrificed his own property to the pursuit of science, was willing, in maturer age, to devote his talents to the care of that of his friend; thus proving, like the Ionian philosopher, that his neglect of pecuniary affairs had not arisen from want of ability, but from disinclination.

Amid these accumulating tasks and this honorable charge, the termination of his labors was now gradually approaching. season was one of unusual mortality, and the ordinary and general causes of disease could only cooperate with the severe and devoted application of the naturalist. Mr. SAY's habits of steady and protracted application, excessive abstinence and loss of sleep, had long before this period exerted an injurious influence upon his health, exhibiting their effects in repeated attacks of fever and dysentery; and when, in 1833, he paid a short visit to his friends in Philadelphia. for the conjoined objects of health and science, the ravages of disease were but too visible. Still, those who knew him were not conscious that it was then for the last time that he visited his native city or the walls of his beloved academy. After several renewals of disease, the same maladies returned with a highly nervous character; and finally, the 10th of October 1834, he sunk into the arms of death by an easy dissolution.

Thus perished, while yet in the vigor of his years, an individual on whom creative wisdom appeared to have stamped in the strongest manner the characters of a master mind in the study of the works of God.

The character of Mr. Say was in every way singularly fitted for the task which he thus made the business of his life. He was gifted with a strong intellect, accurate powers of observation, vast assiduity, a freedom from those unsettled wanderings of the mind which are so frequently the bane of genius, and an enthusiastic attachment to the subject of his studies. In philosophy, he was an advocate for that doctrine which attached exclusive importance to the evidence of the senses. Fact alone was the object which he thought worthy of his researches. Such was the ardor of his perseverance, that for

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a long period he actually lived at the Academy, sleeping within the walls, and only leaving the institution when necessary to obtain his meals. The hours of refreshment were forgotten, and sleep unhesitatingly sacrificed, not as an occasional exertion, but as a permanent and persevering habit. His extraordinary power of concentrating his industry had an effect in producing the peculiar style of his pieces. The manner of writing in which he most delighted was that of the utmost abridgment of which the subject was capable. cutting off every unnecessary word. It was not that he was incapable of a fluent style, for various parts of his writings demonstrate the contrary, such as some of his contributions to the narrative of the Expedition to the Rocky Mountains; but he seemed to think it an injustice to the reader and to science to detain them from knowledge with the smallest redundancy of language. At the same time this severe judge was far from criticising others with the same rigor which he exercised towards himself, and readily forgave the luxuriance of style in their works. His own manner, when he indulged in his beloved brevity, was certainly liable to the objection of difficulty to untutored readers; but still more, perhaps, to the risk of alarming students by its apparent obscurity, than to the reality, as the knowledge which was requisite was always actually present, though comprised in few words. It is unnecessary to add, that the naturalists are not a few to whom this abridged style is a recommendation.

The communications of Mr. Sax to natural science are numerous and of considerable bulk; and their number has probably surprised even some of his acquaintance. They are scattered through a variety of publications, not all devoted to natural history, and one of these even a newspaper; the student finds it impossible, without considerable exertion, to avoid overlooking some of them, and it is too much to be feared that individual memoirs are irrecoverably lost. No estimate of their value, and the labor necessary to produce them, can, however, be founded on their simple bulk; nor can they be compared to others upon such a principle. If we take into view the extreme labor which he uniformly bestowed upon his productions, first to insure their accuracy, and then to compress them within the smallest possible space, the amount of work executed by this indefatigable writer will appear very greatly augmented.

But it is not by the rules of arithmetic that the labors of Mr. Sav are to be judged in any respect. To form a just idea of the space in public utility occupied by him, it would be desirable, if possible, to

make an estimate of the vacuities which existed in American science, of the judgment which he formed of them, and of the success of his endeavors to fill them. This task we shall not attempt to execute. It was in the immense range of the invertebrals that Mr. Say exhausted his labor.

And among these it may be said, as of a former writer, that he left scarce any department untouched, and none that he touched unimproved. His descriptions of species are most numerous among the annulose and the molluscous animals, although he also made investigations among the radiated, as appears from the list of his publications, and among the entozoary. It is not to be supposed that he exhausted any of these departments: the stores of nature within our country are too extensive, and much, doubtless, remains for future observers. Yet he described the large and laborious numbers which serve for the general materials of classification: he outlined the extended and accurate map, to which the task of making local additions is easy, but which forms the necessary and only guide to those who would make further admeasurements. It is not that there is no more gold in the mine; but in raising his own ore, Mr. Sav has constructed the shafts and galleries, pointed out the veins, and indicated by his example the best manner of working them. He laid down the broad masses of coloring, which, however they may be augmented and retouched by the persevering pencil of the future artist, must still form the basis, and in very numerous cases, the perfection of the picture. Every familiar object in these departments, that frequently met the eye, but produced a feeling of dissatisfaction because no description or place for it was to be found in the writers on natural history, received its character from his hands. His task was that of Adam, to name the animals as they passed before him.

His modesty at first induced him to attempt few and isolated species, and departments of small extent; and as time gave him experience of his powers, he ventured farther. A few scattered insects and shells, ascertained to be undescribed, with great labor and precaution first received their characters and names from him. Next he undertook the crustacea of the United States, which he described and classified. He then extended his labor to a larger number of shells, selecting those of the land and of the fresh waters. Next, after despatching several detached and limited groups, he entered among the vast masses of the Insect Kingdom. In this immense field he described a very large number of species, belonging to nearly all its departments. Perhaps, even here we may discover a new

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illustration of the character of the man: and a dislike of show may not improbably have been among the reasons which induced him to postpone his attention to the brilliant and popular department of butterflies and moths. Our naturalist had now achieved so much of his task that he could afford to be desultory; and his pieces from this period assume a more diversified character. His share in the two expeditions by Major Long, is truly multifarious. Besides the departments which he considered peculiarly his own, it embraces, as we have already had occasion to observe, a very large amount of matter foreign to his ordinary habits of study, and requiring a different manner of composition. Some of the most interesting portions are those which describe the manners of the Indians torian of all the facts that were collected in those districts which he traversed with a small detachment of troops under his separate command; he obtained, although not professing philology, the vocabulary of the Killisteno language; and on the expedition to the sources of St. Peter's River, he made the whole of the botanical collections, which afterwards formed the basis of a memoir appended to the published narrative by the late Mr. De Schweinitz. In fossil zoology. his description of new species of the Crinoidea is considered highly valuable. Several other memoirs in this department, in which America until lately presented such a mass of unknown objects, will be found in the catalogue of his papers. Several of Mr. Say's papers appear, however elaborate, to have been at first but little known to naturalists; it appearing to have been his first object in many instances to procure a public record of his papers in print, so as to establish his claims to the date of his discoveries, while at the same time he obtained duplicates to transmit to his learned correspondents; leaving it to subsequent times to republish them, and thus secure their wider diffusion and more easy access.

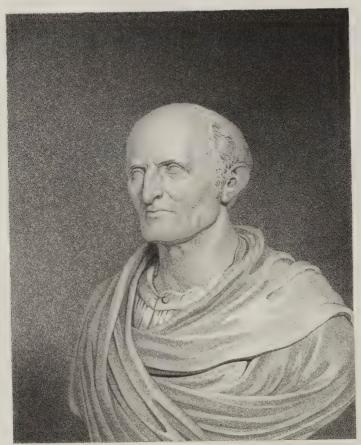
His natural temper was one of the most amiable ever met with. The phrase was frequent in the mouths of his friends, that, "it was impossible to quarrel with him." His great respect for his parents, and his compliance with their wishes, have been already mentioned. He was repaid, notwithstanding his retired life and exclusive devotion to science, by a singular strength of attachment on the part of his friends; and we have already spoken of the confidence of Mr. Maclure. His modesty was so retiring, and the wish which he frequently expressed "to save trouble" to others so great, that to men in the habit of living much in the world they might perhaps appear incredible. The contrast of these with surrounding manners, was

occasionally so remarkable as almost to amount to eccentricity and a satire on the times.

It may be interesting to add, that he was tall and spare, but muscular, and apparently endowed, before his health was injured by repeated illness, with considerable strength. This enabled him better to struggle with the fatigues of toilsome journeys and the wasting inactivity of study. His complexion was dark, with black hair.

Mr. Say will always be remembered by those who pursue the study of Zoology as one of the greatest American naturalists; while at the same time, his fame will be cherished in his native city as one of the most efficient founders and supporters of his favorite academy, and one of the individuals who have contributed most to diffuse a taste for these sciences among the American youth. Few men who have died at forty-seven years of age ever accomplished so much, especially on ground heretofore untrodden. The American "Journal of Science and the Arts," bore true witness when it said, "It is no exaggeration to assert, that he has done more to make known the Zoology of his country than any other man. All his contributions to scientific and other works evince the most sagacious discrimination and the most laborious industry. Philadelphia, the place of his birth, and Indiana, the State which witnessed his death, yet contain many who are ever ready to shed a tear to his honored memory."





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NATHANIEL BOWDITCH, LL.D. F.R.S.

OF all the various branches of intellectual pursuit, that science which explains the system of the universe, and reveals the mechanism of the heavens, must always take the lead as the most sublime and marvellous; and the foremost and most successful cultivators of this science will always be classed among the greatest of men. What, indeed, can be more astonishing than that a being like one of us, endowed, apparently, with no higher or different powers, should be able to obtain so minute and accurate knowledge of those distant planets, and be as well acquainted with their constitution, elements, and laws, as the geologist, the chemist, the botanist, with the appropriate objects of their sciences? Nothing gives so exalted an idea of the power of man, and the extent and reach of his capacities, as his ability to calculate with unerring precision the distances of those twinkling orbs; to determine their figures, magnitudes, and velocities; to measure their weight, estimate their relative attractions and disturbing forces; delineate their orbits, register their laws of motion, fix the times of their revolution, and predict the periods of their return. To a common mind, uninstructed in the science, there is nothing that appears so much like divine wisdom. A Galileo, a Kepler, a Newton, seem to him to belong to another race, a higher order of beings. They appear to possess some additional faculties.

Nothing can be more certain than the doctrines of Astronomy They rest on impregnable foundations, on the demonstrations of mathematical evidence, than which nothing, except the evidence of con sciousness, can be more satisfactory and conclusive. It was a science that early engaged the notice of men, and it has always exercised a purifying and elevating influence on its votaries. Indeed, how could it be otherwise? Who can look upon those brilliant points, and not fancy them the spangled pavement of a divine abode? There is virtue, as well as poetry and philosophy in them. They shed down a heal-

ing and restorative influence upon their worshippers. They are the symbols of endurance and perpetuity.

In the removal of NATHANIEL BOWDITCH, death deprived the scientific world of one of its noblest ornaments—one, who occupied the most prominent place among the scientific men of this country. His position as a public man, the various offices he filled, and especially the value of his works to the advancement of science, the improvement of navigation, and the security of commercial enterprizes, justify the notice which we now propose to take of his life and character. There was much of that life instructive and encouraging, particularly to the young, the friendless, and the poor: there was much in that character worthy of eulogy and imitation.

NATHANIEL BOWDITCH was born at Salem, Massachusetts, on the 26th day of March, 1773. He was the fourth child of Habakkuk and Mary Ingersoll Bowditch. His ancestors, for three generations, had been shipmasters; and his father, after retiring from that employment, carried on the trade of a cooper, by which he gained a scanty and precarious subsistence for a family of seven children. He enjoyed no other advantages of early instruction than such as could be obtained at the common public schools of his native town, which were at that time very inferior to what they have since become, being wholly inadequate to furnish even the ground-work of a respectable education. It was highly honorable to him that, although he had not himself the benefits of a liberal education, he felt the importance and acknowledged the value of it; and accordingly gave to his children the best which the country afforded, and took a deep interest, and, for many years, an efficient agency in the University at Cambridge. The advantages of school, such as they were, he was obliged to forego at the early age of ten years, that he might go into his father's shop and help to support the family. He was, however, soon transferred as an apprentice to a ship-chandler, in whose shop he continued until he went to sea, first as clerk, afterwards as supercargo, and finally as master and supercargo jointly. It was whilst he was in the ship-chandler's shop that his characteristic attachment to mathematical pursuits first developed itself. Every moment of leisure was given to the

From his earliest years he was a diligent reader; and he has been heard to say that, when quite young, he read through a whole Encyclopedia without omitting a single article.

He sailed on his first voyage on the 11th of January, 1795, at the age of twenty-two, as clerk to Captain Henry Prince on board the

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ship Henry, of Salem. The ship sailed for the Isle of Bourbon, and returned home after an absence of exactly a year.

His second voyage was made as supercargo on board the ship Astræa, of Salem. The vessel sailed to Lisbon, touched at Madeira, and then proceeded to Manilla, and arrived at Salem in May, 1797. He made his third voyage the following year, to Cadiz and the Mediterranean. He continued in the same ship, and sailed on his fourth voyage in 1799, to Batavia and Manilla, and returned in 1800. He continued in the East India trade until 1804, when he quitted the sea, and became President of a Marine Insurance Company in Salem.

In the course of these voyages Mr. Bowditch took great interest in the instruction of the sailors, who could read and write, in the principles of navigation; and he never appeared so happy as when he could inspire a sailor with a proper sense of his individual importance, and of the talents he possessed, and might call into action. In this he was remarkably successful; and at Salem it was considered a high recommendation of a seaman that he had sailed with Mr. Bowditch, and it was often sufficient to procure for him an officer's berth.

His attention was directed, at an early age, to the *Principia* of Newton; but as that work was published in Latin, a language which he had not learned, he was obliged to obtain assistance in translating it; but he soon discovered that his own knowledge of the subject, with the aid of the mathematical processes and diagrams on the pages of the work, enabled him to comprehend the reasoning of the author; and by dint of perseverance he acquired a sufficient knowledge of Latin to enable him to read any work of science in it. He afterwards learned French, for the purpose of having access to the treasures of mathematical science in that language; and to indulge his taste for general literature, he studied Spanish, German, and Italian.

It has been stated, in relation to the origin of one of Mr. Bow-DITCH's principal works, that on the day previous to his sailing on his last voyage he was called on by Mr. Edmund M. Blunt, then a noted publisher of charts and nautical books at Newburyport, and requested to continue the corrections which he had previously commenced on John Hamilton Moore's book on navigation, then in common use on board our vessels. This he consented to do; and in performance of his promise he detected such a multitude of errors, that it led to the construction of his "New American Practical Navigator," the first edition of which was published in 1800, and has been of immense service to the nautical and commercial interests of this

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country. It is a work abounding with the actual results of his own experience, and containing simple and expeditious formulas for working nautical problems. Had he never done any thing else, he would, by this single act, have conferred a lasting obligation to his native land. Every vessel that sails from the ports of the United States, from Eastport to New Orleans, is navigated by the rules and tables of his book. It is also extensively used in the British and French navies.

In 1802, at the age of twenty-nine, his ship lying wind-bound at Boston, he went out to Cambridge to attend the exercises on commencement day; and whilst standing in one of the aisles of the church, the President announced his name amongst those on whom had been conferred the degree of Master of Arts. The annunciation came upon him wholly by surprise. It was the proudest day of his life; and of all the distinctions which he subsequently received from numerous learned and scientific bodies at home and abroad, there was not one which afforded him half the pleasure, or which he prized so highly, as this degree from Harvard.

In 1806 Mr. Bowditch published his admirable chart of the harbors of Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, and Manchester, the survey of which had occupied him during three summers. This was a work

of great exactness and beauty.

On the establishment of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, at Boston, in 1823, he was invited to take charge of it, with the title of Actuary. He accepted of the appointment, and accordingly removed to that city, where he continued to reside till the time of his decease. He discharged the duties of his trust with skill and fidelity, and to the entire satisfaction of the company.

While he resided at Salem, he undertook his translation and commentary on the great work of the French astronomer, La Place, entitled *Mécanique Céleste*. This was the great work of his life. The illustrious author of that work undertakes to explain the whole mechanism of our solar system, to account for all its phenomena, and to reduce all the anomalies in the apparent motions and figures of the planetary bodies to certain definite laws. It is a work of great genius and immense depth, and exceedingly difficult to be comprehended. This arises not merely from the intrinsic difficulty of the subject, and the medium of proof being the higher branches of the mathematics, but chiefly from the circumstance that the author, taking it for granted that the subject would be as plain and easy to others as to himself, very often omits the intermediate steps and connecting links in his

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demonstrations. He grasps the conclusion without showing the pro-Dr. Bowditch used to say, "I never come across one of La Place's 'Thus it plainly appears,' without feeling sure that I have got hours of hard study before me to fill up the chasm, and find out and show how it plainly appears." This gigantic task was begun in the year 1815, and was the regular occupation of his leisure hours to the time of his death. His elucidation and commentaries, while they show him to have been as thoroughly master of the mighty subject as La Place himself, will make that great work—the most profound of modern times—accessible to innumerable students, who, without such aid, would be compelled to forego the use of it. Let it not be said. in disparagement of the labors of Dr. Bowditch, that this was not an original work, but merely a translation. Suppose it had been so. What then? Was it not still a benefaction to those who are acquainted only with the English language to bring this great work within their reach? But he did more. It is more than half an original commentary and exposition, simplifying and elucidating what was before complex and obscure; supplying omissions and deficiencies, fortifying the positions with new proofs, and giving additional weight and efficacy to the old ones; and, above all, recording the subsequent discoveries, and bringing down the science to the present time. It has been asserted that La Place, to whom Dr. Bowditch sent a list of errors, (which, however, he never had the grace to acknowledge in any way,) once remarked, "I am sure that Dr. Bowditch comprehends my work, for he has not only detected my errors, but has shown me how I came to fall into them."

The first volume of the work was published in the year 1829, the second in 1832, and the third in 1834; each volume containing about a thousand quarto pages. The fourth and last volume was nearly completed at the time of his decease. He persevered to the last in his labors upon it; preparing the copy, and reading the proof-sheets in the intervals when he was free from pain. Though the work, on its appearance, met with more purchasers than he expected, yet its cost was a heavy draft on his income, and an encroachment on his little property. Yet it was cheerfully paid; and besides that, he gladly devoted his time, his talents, his health, and his life, to the cause of science and the honor of his native land. That work is his monument. He needs no other.

The progress of Dr. Bowditch's last illness was so unremitting, that he was not able to complete the final revision of the whole of his great work. The fifth and only remaining volume is, comparatively,

of little importance, and it probably would have had but little revision if he had survived.

Dr. Bowditch was eminently a self-taught and a self-made man. Whatever knowledge he possessed,—and it was great,—was of his own acquiring, the fruit of his solitary studies, with but little assistance from abroad. From his youth up, he was a pattern of industry, enterprise, and perseverance; suffering no difficulties to discourage, no disappointments to dishearten him. He combined qualities and habits which are usually considered incompatible. He was a contemplative, recluse student; and at the same time an active public man. He lived habitually among the stars, and yet he was a shrewd. practical man, and one of the most skilful of financiers. Judging from his published works, it might be supposed he had neither taste nor time for business, or the ordinary affairs of life; and judging from the large concerns which he managed, and the vast funds of which he had the supervision, it would seem impossible he could have had any time for study. He accomplished all by an economy of time, and the regularity of his habits. He was a remarkably domestic man. His affections clustered around his own fireside. His attachment to the calm and simple pleasures of his home was one of the most beautiful traits of his character. His time was divided between his office and his house: he was seldom drawn into company. When at home, he spent his time in his library, which he loved to have considered the family parlor. By very early rising, in winter two hours before light, he was enabled to accomplish much before others were stirring. After taking his evening walk he was again always to be found in the library, pursuing the same attractive studies, but ready and glad, at the entrance of a visiter, to throw aside his book, unbend his mind, and indulge in all the gaieties of a light-hearted conversation. There was nothing that he seemed to enjoy more than the free interchange of thought on all subjects of common interest. At such times the mathematician, the astronomer, the man of science disappeared; and he presented himself as the frank, easy, familiar friend. It was hardly credible that the agreeable, fascinating companion, who talked so affably and pleasantly on all the topics of the day, and joined so heartily in the quiet mirth or the loud laugh, could really be the great mathematician who had expounded the mechanism of the heavens, and taken his place with Newton, and Leibnitz, and La Place, amongst the great proficients in exact science.

Although mathematics was his chief and favorite pursuit, Dr. Bow-DITCH still had a taste for general literature. He was fond of Shak-

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speare, and Burns, and Bryant, and Sprague; and remembered and could repeat whole passages from their works.

He was a man of unsullied purity and most rigid integrity; and was always true to his moral as well as intellectual convictions.

From his boyhood, his mind had been religiously impressed. He had read the Bible under the eye of a pious mother, and he loved to repeat the sublime and touching language of Holy Writ.

His last days were marked by the same cheerfulness and serenity of mind that we naturally look for on the death-bed of the pure and good. The disease of which he died was a schirrus in the stomach. For four weeks previous to his death, he could take no solid food. and hardly swallowed any liquid. He suffered, however, but little from hunger, but constantly from thirst; and the only relief and refreshment he could find was, in frequently moistening his lips and mouth with cold water. His frame was consequently exceedingly attenuated, and his flesh wasted away. At intervals his sufferings were intense, and the body at times triumphed over the spirit: but it was only for a moment, and the spirit again resumed its legitimate sovereignty. On the morning of his death, when his sight was dim and his voice almost gone, he called his children around his bed-side. and, like the patriarch Jacob, addressed each by name. "You see," said he. "I can distinguish you all, and I now give you my parting blessing. The time is come; Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word." These were his last words. He died on Friday, the 16th day of March, 1838; and was buried privately, on the morning of the following Sabbath, under Trinity Church, in Summer Street, Boston.

Dr. Bowditch twice held a seat in the Executive Council of Massachusetts, under the administration of Governors Strong and Brooks; but he had no taste for public life, no ambition for political honors.

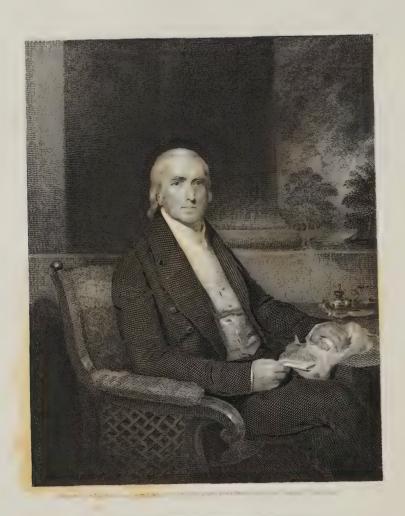
He was admitted a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1799, and was its President from 1829 to the time of his decease. He received his degree of LL. D. from Harvard University in 1816, and was elected a member of the Royal Society of London in 1818. He contributed a great number of valuable papers to the Memoirs of the American Academy, and was the author of the article on Modern Astronomy, in Vol. XX. of the North American Review. There is also a brief account of the comet of 1806 furnished by him, and published in the Monthly Anthology, Vol. IV. He was an active and efficient member of the Boston Atheneum, the

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East India Marine Society of Salem, and of several other societies of a literary or benevolent character.

Dr. Bowditch was held in very high estimation as a man of science by the whole learned world; and in social life he was regarded with the strongest feelings of attachment. By not a few he was spoken of as "The Great Pilot," and by all was emphatically characterised as "a live man." Quickness and activity marked all his faculties, affections, and habits. Though devotedly attached to science, he could not cherish the idea of selling his works for his own advantage to those who might not be able readily to profit by them. Indeed he carried his feelings of independence so far, as to refuse to have his great translation of La Place published by subscription or at the expense of others, but chose to wait till he could afford to sustain the expense himself; saying, that he would rather expend a thousand dollars a year in this way, than by keeping a carriage. Friendship will long refuse to bury his name; science shall very long appreciate the services he rendered to the world; and benevolence will yet be found weeping at his tomb.





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PHILIP SYNG PHYSICK.

Dr. Philip Syng Physick was born on the 7th of July, 1768, in Third, near Arch street, Philadelphia. His father, Mr. Edmund Physick, was a native of England; and his mother, Miss Syng, the daughter of a highly respectable citizen of Philadelphia, who was one of the early friends and companions of Franklin; and whose name appears on the register of the American Philosophical Society as one of its founders, and also connected with other undertakings of public utility at that period.

The celebrity of Doctor Physick has been so general, that to the American reader it is almost superfluous to state that he was distinguished by a long and brilliant course in Surgery and Medicine; by a deep and universal conviction on the medical and public mind of this country in favor of his skill; and by traits of character so prominent and so peculiar, that the chances are very improbable of their being repeated in any other individual. Even if Nature should renew her production, the difference of circumstances in which it will be placed, from the immense changes constantly and rapidly occurring in our social state, will prevent the same mode and degree of development.

The subject of our memoir received his academic education from Robert Proud, in "Friends' Academy," and during the time lived in the family of Mr. John Tod, the father-in-law of the present Mrs. Madison. He then entered the classical department of the University of Pennsylvania, and obtained his knowledge of the languages from Mr. James Davidson, one of the best scholars of his day, No small fondness for these his earlier studies remained with him to the end of his life.

Having passed honorably through his college studies, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His father now considered him ready to engage in the study of medicine, and placed him under the charge 4-2 N

of the late Dr. Adam Kuhn one of the most learned and successful

physicians of that day.

His first introduction to anatomy excited strongly his aversion and disgust to the profession of medicine—it was the boiling of a skeleton in the Medical College in Fifth street, now the Health Office. He re turned home, and implored his father to change his destination; it was all in vain. Finding his father thus inexorable, he began his medical studies in earnest.

When twenty years of age, in 1788, his father took him to London, and succeeded in fixing him under the direction of Mr. John Hunter, the great surgeon of the day; and now looked upon as the first medical man that the British empire has produced, his posthumous reputation having gone vastly beyond any that he ever had, when alive.

Being placed in a dissecting-room, he distinguished himself in a short time by his assiduity, and by the neatness and success of his dissections; he became a favorite with Mr. Home, the assistant in the rooms, and also with Mr. Hunter. The confidence and partiality of the latter were exhibited in the year 1790, while he was still a student under him, by Mr. Hunter using great exertions, and successfully, to

get him elected House Surgeon to St. George's Hospital.

In the year 1791 he received his diploma from the Royal College of Surgeons in London. After which he visited Edinburgh, and having spent a winter there, took out the degree of Doctor of Medicine in the University, in 1792. In the latter part of the same year he returned home, highly instructed in his profession; after having declined offers by his preceptor Mr. Hunter, of a promising and advantageous kind, for him to settle in London, this course was probably influenced in some degree by his health, which the climate and atmosphere

of that metropolis did not suit.

The year 1793 brought him distinctly and prominently into public notice. The premonitory indications of a fatal epidemic being on the approach, were but too faithfully verified, when, on the 19th of August, the celebrated Rush announced to his fellow-citizens that a malignant and mortal fever had broken out among them. This startling intelligence, whereby the repose of the public mind was disturbed, was received with the agitation and surprise created by some unexpected convulsion of nature; by some it was discredited, and strong indignation expressed against its author. The celerity, however, with which the disease invaded the several walks of life, left no room for disputation, and all that remained to be done, was to make the best possible arrangements for its visitation. Among the measures of the

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day, recommended by the College of Physicians on the 27th of August, and carried into immediate effect, was the providing a large and airy hospital in the neighborhood of the city, for the reception of such poor persons as could not be accommodated with suitable advantages in private houses. The erection of the Bush Hill Hospital was the result of this recommendation; and Dr. Physick having offered his services, was chosen physician of the same. He left his lodgings in town, entered immediately upon his new duties, and continued in the exercise of them till the disease had passed away.

In the year 1794 he was appointed a prescribing physician in the Philadelphia Dispensary, and a surgeon to the Pennsylvania Hospital; the public confidence was also exhibited by his practice increasing with

no ordinary rapidity.

A recurrence of the yellow fever as an epidemic, in 1798, led again to a performance of similar duties in the Bush Hill Hospital. The zeal and fidelity with which he went through these, were recognised in the presentation of some elegant pieces of silver plate. Their cost was upwards of one thousand dollars, and they bore the following inscription:—

"From the Board of Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals, to Philip Syng Physick, M. D.

As a mark of their respectful approbation of his voluntary and inestimable services, as Resident Physician at the City Hospital in the calamity of 1798."

On Sept. 18th, 1800, he married Miss Emlen, the daughter of a gentleman of learning, distinction, and wealth, and who belonged to the very respectable Society of Friends. She died in 1820, leaving four chidren now alive—two sons and two daughters.

In 1805, the chair of Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania having been made a distinct one, he was elected to it; the success of his operations and lectures in the Pennsylvania Hospital, is considered to have created and established this change.

In July, 1819, he resigned his chair of Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, and was appointed to that of Anatomy, vacated, the pre-

ceding November, by the death of his nephew, Dr. Dorsey.

The latest of his appointments was in 1836, when he was elected an honorary fellow of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London, and soon after received his diploma; he is said to have been very much pleased with this mark of respect from a city where his early studies had been conducted.

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The earliest commendatory notice of him is found in the Treatise on the Blood by his preceptor, John Hunter. The latter wishing to arrive at some general conclusions on certain phenomena of the blood, as to its coagulability and putrescence under several conditions named, performed experiments on the subject, which were rather incomplete and unsatisfactory to himself; to verify, however, what he had done, he says, "Many of these experiments were repeated by my desire by Dr. Physick, now of Philadelphia, when he acted as house-surgeon to St. George's hospital, whose accuracy I could depend upon."

In 1793 he, in conjunction with Dr. Cathrall, made several dissections of persons dead of yellow fever, which proved its inflammatory character, and that its principal violence fell on the stomach. These observations were not absolutely new, because they had been preceded by similar ones by Dr. Mitchill, in his account of the yellow fever of Virginia in 1737 and 1741, and by corresponding ones in the West Indies. They had, however, an important local influence in correcting the prevailing notions of the disease, by proving, that so far from being one of debility, it presented the highest possible grade of inflammation,—one exactly similar to what is produced by acrid poisons, as arsenic, introduced into the stomach. The principle was thus established, that the reputed putrid phenomena were merely the expression of the gastric inflammation, and that the proper treatment was precisely the reverse of what had obtained.

To this advance in the therapeutic indications of a disease so fatal and so terrifying, was added one of a most important prophylactic or preventive kind. At a time when it was perilous to the practice, as well as to the reputation for sanity of any physician, to assert that the yellow fever was generated among us and not imported, he had the manliness and dignity to declare openly this obnoxious truth. He also admonished the people, that the true protection from such visitations, was not in establishing an empty system of quarantine laws, and thereby interrupting foreign commerce, but in cleanliness at their own doors and along their own wharves. These were the views taken and enforced at the same time, by the eloquence and fervor of a Rush. To this idea, constantly urged upon public attention, are to be traced the very complete and effective arrangements for supplying the city of Philadelphia with water, by applying, if required, the whole cur rent of the Schuylkill to the purpose.

To the walks of Surgery, however, we must look for the genius of Physick in its most decided and extensive application. It is there that we find it exhibiting a series of triumphs over cases of dis-

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ease which had baffled the skill of men only inferior to himself and it is there that it was most active in inventions to improve and to palliate established modes of treatment. His management of diseased joints by perfect rest, elevation, and diet, is a happy substitute for the errors generated under the use of the term scrofula or white swelling, and ending either by amputation or in death-sometimes in both. His treatment of the inflammation of the hip-joint in children (coxalgia). by a splint, low diet, and frequent purging, exhibits another of those successful innovations upon ordinary practice. His invention of an appropriate treatment and cure for that loathsome disease, artificial anus, which invention has been so unceremoniously modified and claimed by a distinguished French surgeon, the late Baron Dupuytren, is a proof of the activity and resources of his professional mind. Another invention, still more frequent in its employment, from the greater number of such cases, is the application of the seton to the cure of fractures of bones refusing to unite. Other inventions are found in the treatment of mortification by blisters; of anthrax by caustic alkali; the ligature of kid skin for arteries in excisions of the female breast. him, also, we owe the original act, if not invention, of pumping out the stomach in cases of poisoning; also an improvement in the treatment of fractures of the condyles of the os humeri, so as to render the restoration perfect. We might in this way go on to enumerate many other points of excellence about him; but, however appropriate it might be to offer a complete exposition of them, the space allotted to a memoir of this kind must prohibit a more extensive and complete annunciation. Those who have had an opportunity of witnessing his practice extensively, will at least conclude with us in saying, Nihil tetigit, quod non ornavit.

With this great fertility in invention and ardor in the prosecution of his profession, his original papers, as published, are few, and they are

also very short.

Lecturing for many years on Surgery, his chief organ of publicity was his class of students. The Elements of Surgery, published by his nephew, Dr. Dorsey, contain the most perfect account of his opinions

and practice up to that period.

To the preceding claims to professional veneration, were united physical qualifications of the most perfect kind. He had a correct, sharp, and discriminating eye; a hand delicate in its touch and movement, and which never trembled or faltered; an entire composure and self-possession, the energy of which increased upon an unexpected emergency. He had a forethought of all possible contingencies and

demands during a great operation, and therefore had every thing prepared for it; when performed, he entered upon a most conscientious discharge of his duty to the patient, and watched him with a vigilance and anxiety which never remitted till his fate was ascertained.

If to the foregoing brilliant qualities as an operator, and the loud plaudits which attended their exercise, we add a chastening of feeling which subdued every sentiment of vanity and regulated entirely his judgment; and that he had an invincible repugnance, a horror at engaging in dangerous operations through ostentation, and where the probabilities of cure were not largely in favor of the patient; we have in this summary the most perfect example of a surgeon which this country has ever seen. But as these great points and striking professional landmarks seldom come in clusters, it will probably be long in the course of Providence before there will be a re-union of all the same

excellent qualities.

His operation for the stone on Chief Justice Marshall, in 1831, was the last of his great efforts. He anticipated it with much anxiety, but when brought to the point, he rallied finely—every thing was, as usual, in readiness. The unexpected turn given to the operation by the almost incredible number, probably a thousand, of small calculi which he met with, and their adhesion to the internal coat of the bladder, did not disconcert him in the slightest degree. He in a little time detected the existing state of things, and they were brought to a successful conclusion, being followed by a complete cure. This operation was the more interesting from the distinction of its two principal personages; the one, the acknowledged head of the legal profession, and the other of the medical; and both sustaining themselves, though in advanced life, by that tone of moral firmness and dignity which had advanced them from inconsiderable beginnings to the stations which they then occupied.

Dr. Physick was of middling stature, and not inclined to corpulence even at his best periods of health. His bust was a remarkably fine one; he had a well-formed head and face, the expression of the latter being thoughtful and pensive, sometimes enlivened in conversation by a smile, but very seldom so spontaneously. His nose was aquiline and thin; and his eye hazel, well-formed, vivid, and searching—his gaze seemed sometimes to penetrate into the very interior of the body. His eye acquired additional effect from his pallid, fixed, and statue-like face. His hands were small, delicate, and flexible. He dressed with great neatness: his clothes being put on with an exact attention to the process, and being from year to year of a uniform cut Many, no

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doubt, remember the very admirable and characteristic appearance imparted to his physiognomy and head by the use of hair powder, and how this almost solitary remnant among the gentlemen of Philadelphia. of an ancient fashion, seemed to be in entire harmony with his own individuality of mind and of reputation.

Dr. Physick's traits as a teacher corresponded with other points in his character. His course of Surgery, upon which his reputation was founded in an especial manner, was eminently practical and instructive. He did not pretend to range over the whole field of this science, but limited himself to topics of daily occurrence, or at least such as might be expected in the practice of any medical man. Relying upon his own experience and habits of observation, he had but little to do with the opinions of others; he quoted them rarely, and never in such a way as to leave the point unsettled by an array of opposite authorities. His opinions were for the most part founded upon deep reflection, and were decided in one way or another; he never leaned to one side and inclined to another, so as to neutralise his weight; he either admitted entire want of information, or considered himself in possession of the requisite degree of it. This tone of sentiment pervading his lectures, they were most eminently didactic, and were listened to with a thorough conviction of their correctness; indeed. such was his authority, that it was held almost indisputable-to oppose it, was to brand one's self with folly.

He decidedly preferred studying every thing for himself in the laboratory of Nature, beginning his analysis of the human machine in a dissecting-room, and solving the problem of its disorders and their cure in a hospital. The proposition in every disease he considered as limiting itself to the positive experience of what had done good and what had done harm. His consultations always assumed this character.

As his opinions were, for the most part, formed with deliberation, so they were retained with firmness; and they, like his habits, were durable to an extreme. This we may account for, inasmuch as they were never taken up on capricious grounds, but always upon the most scrupulous examination of proof. He required, too, personal proof, such as would satisfy his understanding, through his eyes, his ears, and his touch. Naturally exact, systematic, and persevering, these traits were fully developed by his education and training.

Not being given to expressions of sentimentalities, his cold and steady manner was mistaken by some for apathy: he felt, however, acutely, when not the slightest external indication of it appeared. He was always anxious and excited when preparing for a great operation, and

when it was finished, spent sometimes the remainder of the day in bed, in order to recover and tranquilize himself. The death of patients not unfrequently laid him up, from the excess of his sensibilities.

Having undergone a protracted illness, which reduced him to a most suffering and debilitated state, he died on the 13th of December, 1837, being in his seventieth year. He was interred in Christ Church burying-ground, corner of Fifth and Arch streets, Philadelphia, with the strongest expressions of public respect.





John W. Francis.





JOHN W. FRANCIS, M. D., LL. D.

PROFESSIONAL life, especially in young republican America, is often diversified; but the physician's is, perhaps, less frequently so than that of any of the members of the three liberal pursuits to which academic honors are awarded. Medical men, from the very nature of their studies, and the active cares in which they are involved in the subsequent discharge of their responsible trusts, necessarily pass their existence rather within the secluded chambers of the sick and afflicted, than before the gaze and immediate observation of the multitude. But, in defiance of this restriction, the cultivators of the venerable art of healing have been justly accounted among that class of individuals whose daily vocations lead to a substantial acquaintance with human nature, and the principles of human action; while their peculiar energies are ever directed to investigations, embracing a multitudinous variety of circumstances by which sound science is increased, and the lasting interests of society better secured. Knowledge, therefore, in the medical profession, serves not only to dignify its rank, but in the exercise of its powers becomes the agent of innumerable blessings to society; and is elevated equally by the importance of its ultimate object, and by those qualifying attainments which render their possessor the efficient instrument of its philanthropic designs.

There is, besides, in the history of physic, abundant evidence to show how much the advancement of man has been furthered by the professors of the healing art; how greatly the interests of humanity have been promoted by their efforts; how largely the charities of life, an elevated literature and exalted science have been aided by the broad foundations of public institutions, in which physicians have borne a prominent part. The annals of Continental and of British medicine demonstrate this truth; nor are examples wanting in our own country of similar establishments, generously cherished by this order of men. Hence, though the transactions of one day in the physician's career

seldom differ from those of another, the lives of eminent professors in the medical faculty become worthy of notice; they are the guardians of the public health, and they deserve to rank among public characters; and he, who possesses a deep and enthusiastic veneration for the art, and while, in the daily exercise of its salutary precepts fosters, the cause of learning and the general welfare of his species, merits, at our hands, some recorded testimonial of his actions.

Among the many living examples in the United States of those in that profession, who by their acquisitions adorn the science of physic; who, by the faithful and conscientious performance of its arduous duties, have conferred benefits of acknowledged importance upon humanity; and by the publication of the results of experience have added to the medical literature of their country, the respectable individual, whose name is at the head of this biographical sketch, occupies a con-

spicuous place.

DR. JOHN W. FRANCIS, was born in the city of New-York on the 17th of November, 1789. His father, Melchior Francis, who came to this country shortly after the peace of 1783, was a German from Nuremberg, well known in New-York as an enterprizing, upright grocer. of an enthusiastic temperament, and of a liberal and charitable spirit. whose career of usefulness was suddenly arrested by death from yellow fever in 1795, in the 35th year of his age. His mother was a native of Pennsylvania: her family, of the name of Somer, were originally from Bern, in Switzerland from whom there are numerous descendants in this country, now residing in the above-named State. Her children were mere infants when her husband died; but she was left in circumstances sufficiently easy to give them a good education. the eldest, after receiving the common early instruction, was sent to a school of no little reputation under the charge of the Reverend George Strebeck, with whom he commenced the study of mathematics and the Latin language, and afterward continued his classical pursuits under the direction of the Reverend John Conroy, a profound scholar, and a distinguished graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. By the aid of this excellent teacher he was enabled to enter an advanced class in Columbia College, where, in 1809, he received the degree of Bachelor, and in 1812 that of Master of Arts.

While an under-graduate, the subject of this memoir, having resolved to adopt the medical profession, devoted a portion of his time to its studies; he was enabled to accomplish this by a strong natural capacity, and by an ardor and perseverance which have marked his whole course of life; he had not only mental energy, but a vigorous con-

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stitution, which sustained his intense application in the acquisition of knowledge.

In 1807, then still an under-graduate as above-mentioned, he commenced his professional studies with the late Dr. David Hosack, the able and eloquent teacher, at that time professor of Materia Medica and Botany in Columbia College, and among those most entensively engaged in the practice of physic in New York. Under this eminent preceptor Mr. Francis had ample opportunities of witnessing the principles of the art illustrated by their practical application. During the period of his professional studies for four collegiate years, he never absented himself from a single lecture, nor attended one without making notes or abstracts on the subject taught by the lecturer. His clinical knowledge was also much increased by a constant attendance at the New-York Hospital, then enjoying the rich experience of Drs. Post, Kissam, Stringham, and others; and at the City Almshouse, an extensive charity, the medical department of which was under the management of Drs. Hosack and Macneven, the clinical instructors.

Several laws for the greater improvement of medical science were enacted about this period by the Legislature of the State of New-York. County Medical Societies had been formed the year before, and promised much advantage to the cause of professional learning. The College of Physicians and Surgeons, under the authority of the Regents of the University, was organized in 1807. From this institution, in 1811, MR. FRANCIS received the degree of M. D. This was at the first commencement of that school under the Presidency of Dr. Samuel Bard, and the subject of this memoir was the first graduate who recorded his name in the College Album. Dr. Francis's inaugural thesis was a dissertation on mercury, embracing its medical history, curative action, and abuse in disease. His researches were extensive, while many of his views were novel and profound, and have since been confirmed by the philosophical inquiries of British and other foreign practitioners. This production acquired for him great credit at once among his fellow graduates and the faculty generally; it has been repeatedly noticed by different writers in various languages, and maintains its reputation at the present day.

Dr. Francis had been in practice a few months only, when his late preceptor proposed to him a co-partnership in business. This proposition, from the high standing of Dr. Hosack, was too flattering to be declined. This connection lasted till 1820, since which time Dr. Francis has continued in practice by himself.

From the first organization of the College of Physicians and Sur-

geons, the professorial chairs were filled by men of acknowledged learning and ability most of whom were much distinguised as teachers.

In the spring of 1813 Dr. Francis received from the trustees of the institution the appointment of lecturer on the Institutes of Medicine and Materia Medica. Shortly after this period, an union being effected between the rival institutions, the medical faculty of Columbia College and the College of Physicians and Surgeons, he received from the regents the professorship of Materia Medica. He delivered his first public course of instruction to a class of one hundred and twenty students, declining all compensation for his services, that the consolidation of two schools of medicine, which had brought together so numerous a body of professors, might not too much enhance the price of education to those who wished to attend a full course of lectures. About this time he published a historical account of the College, with a syllabus or outline of the several courses of lectures. The students of this new school, upon its chartered establishment, had formed themselves into a medical society, similar to that at the University of Edinburgh, to improve their minds by weekly discussions on medical and surgical sub-The President of the Society, which was termed the Medico-Chirurgical Society, was chosen from the professors of the College; and for many years Dr. Francis was elected to preside over it, succeeding in this appointment the learned Dr. Mitchill.

Strongly impressed with the conviction that the city of New-York possessed all the requisites for a great medical school, alive to the importance of an extended system of medical education, and cheered by the rising prospects of the institution to which he was attached. DR. FRANCIS resolved to visit Europe, having in view, as well to profit by the lessons of instruction afforded by the old world, as to transfer, as far as lay within his power, what was valuable and practicable to the new. While in London he became a pupil of the illustrious Abernethy, and witnessed the practice of St. Bartholomew's hospital; attended the lectures of Brande at the Royal Institution, those of Pearson at St. George's hospital, &c. Between Abernethy and Francis there sprung up so strong an attachment, that the former offered the latter a share of his business, which at that time was oppres-

sively extensive.

According to a memoir to which this biographical sketch is much indebted,* besides England, Dr. Francis visited Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and France.

With eager curiosity he examined most that was rare and promi-

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nent in these countries. His letters gave him access to scholars and men of science wherever he travelled. In Edinburgh he shared the hospitality of the great professors, and visited their schools so renowned for practical wisdom. Here he listened to the eloquent and classical lectures on medicine of Dr. James Gregory, and the able expositions of Professor Jamieson on the Wernerian formations; and witnessed the early experiments of the philosophic Brewster, in his private study, on the polarization of light. In Dublin he was received with true Irish cordiality; and found in the anatomical preparations of Mc-Cartney, specimens which rival even those of John Hunter. Regarding his professional object as the most important one of his mission, he was obliged to resist the strong impulse which prompted him to pass beyond the Rhine; and most reluctantly turned his back upon the country, toward which, as the land of his fathers, he felt the dutiful vearnings of a son; and for which, as the birth-place of Herder. Schiller, and Goethe, he entertained the reverence of a scholar. In Holland, the anatomical theatre where Ruysch once taught, and the garden where Boerhaave once displayed the harmonies of the vegetable kingdom, awakened to recollection the glories which have long since departed. In France, with Denon, he viewed in his cabinet, and in those institutions under his care, all that was magnificent in the arts. Gall displayed to him the rich materials of his collections, on which he founded his system of craniology; while the "Jardin des Plantes," under the direction of M. Thouin, gave him new ardor for a knowledge of the wonders of creation. With Cuvier he examined the objects more intimately connected with his own profession.

We are not wanting in proofs of the enthusiasm and success with which the subject of this article prosecuted his European tour. It was such as to excite the notice of many of his most enlightened foreign acquaintances. One thus speaks: "I feel much gratified by the opportunity you afforded me of making the acquaintance of Dr. Frances. A mind more ardent in the pursuit of useful knowledge perhaps never existed; and I have no doubt he will, in a few years, stand at the head of his profession. I introduced him to my son-in-law, Dr Yeates, who is an able and learned physician; he entertains a high opinion of your friend's talents, and I am sure will at all times be happy in the opportunity of being useful to him."* Dr. Frances is warm in his admiration of those lights of knowledge he everywhere encountered in his travels; but though enamoured with the learned

^{*}Letter of the late Patrick Colquboun, author of the Police of London, &c. Life of Eddy by S. L. Knapp.

men he met in different countries, his political affections were wedded to his own; and in the midst of his European attachments, he was still

a republican in his principles.

On his return to New-York he found that some changes had been made in the disposition of the professorships in the College; the duties of the chair of Materia Medica had been added to that of Chemistry. He was at once appointed by the Regents of the University professor of the Institutes of Medicine. On the death of Dr. Stringham, in 1817, the department of Medical Jurisprudence, heretofore taught with applause by that gentleman, was assigned to Dr. Francis. Another change took place in 1819, by resignation, by which Dr. Francis became Professor of Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence, This appointment he held until 1826, when he resigned, at the same time with his colleagues, Drs. Hosack, Mott, Mcneven, and Mitchill: Dr. Post had given up the professorship of Anatomy a short time previously. The board of regents accepted the resignation of the faculty. and presented them their thanks "for the faithful and able manner in which they had filled their respective chairs as instructors and lecturers in said College."

During the same year in which the resignation of the professors of the College of Physicians and Surgeons occurred, a majority of them founded and organized a new institution at their individual expense, under the name of Rutgers' Medical College. In the place of Professor Post, Anatomy and Physiology was assigned to the late distinguished Dr. Godman, who, at the instance of Professor Francis, left Philadelphia for a larger sphere of usefulness and profit. The success of this new school for four terms was triumphant, at the end of which period the legislative wisdom of the State thought proper to close the doors of the College. It is believed that every friend and patron of sound practical medicine now admits that the interests of medical learning sus-

tained a severe loss by this measure.

In the Rutgers' Medical College Dr. Francis was chosen Professor of Obstetrics and Forensic Medicine. In the number of pupils, his classes were second only to those of Anatomy, which are always most fully attended in every well-arranged medical institution. The close relationship between many parts of the physiological portion of a course of instruction on Obstetrics, with numerous topics discussed in legal medicine, justified, on the part of the professor, repeated disquisitions of the most interesting nature; and these, by an ample museum, were made the more clear and satisfactory. In his third edition of the work of Dr. Denman, a large amount of medico-legal facts and opi-

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nions is introduced; and in the same volume is embraced his history of the Obstetric art, from the time of the ancients to that of the latest writers on the subject, which has received the approbation both of the erudite and the practical. The number of students under his care while he was connected with the institutions above-named, was probably greater than that of any other professor in the city. He devoted from four to six hours a day to public and private instruction in the several departments of the science; other portions of time were devoted to the labor of practice. With the termination of all collegiate duties, he resolved to confine his attention to the practice of physic exclusively. In his parting address to his public class, he stated the causes which would thereafter dissolve the relationship of pupil and precentor, paid the tribute of grateful respect to the magnanimous patrons by whom the College had been countenanced, and held up to admiration and example that guardian genius of all establishments for the diffusion of useful knowledge,—Dewitt Clinton.

DR. FRANCIS's early introduction to practice and teaching, however laborious and anxious the task, led not to the neglect of those intervals of leisure which occur in the lives of all. Convinced that the charms of medical reading, and the diffusion of medical and scientific knowledge, would both be promoted by the establishment of a new periodical journal in New-York, he, while a student, united with his preceptor, Dr. Hosack, and issued, in 1810, a prospectus for the American Medical and Philosophical Register. This work was published quarterly, and continued for four years. It was filled almost entirely with original materials. After the completion of the fourth volume. the editors assumed the responsibility of the work, and announced their names. In conjunction with the late Dr. Dyckman and Dr. Beck, he was for some time editor of the New-York Medical and Physical Journal, which was projected in 1822. He continued as one of the editors until the termination of the third volume. This work contains a number of his medical observations and records.

Dr. Francis has written papers, in many different medical and scientific journals in the United States, on subjects connected with his profession: among the most prominent of these, and of a practical nature, are his observations on the use of vitriolic emetics in croup, with details of cases in which this remedy was effective after the formation of the adventitious membrane lining the trachea. This novel method of cure has since often proved successful in other hands in this country, and has since been adopted abroad: remarks on the goitre as it prevails in the western parts of New-York and Canada vol. IV-9

cases of ovarian disease: on the medicinal properties of the sanguinaria Canadensis: history of a remarkable case of a diverticulum of the ilium; cases in morbid anatomy: facts and inferences in medical jurisprudence: on phlegmasia dolens occurring in the male subject; on caries of the lower jaw in children: on elaterium and croton oil: cases of icthyosis: observations on the mineral waters of Avon in Livingston County, New-York, deduced from chemical experiments and medicinal trials. His letter on febrile contagion, dated in London, 1816, and addressed to Dr. Hosack, contains an exposition of certain British writers, on the insusceptibility of the human constitution to a second attack of the yellow fever. This curious fact concerning the nature of this disease in certain latitudes, which was strongly maintained by various authors of Great Britain and the West Indies, received additional support, in many striking cases, from the observations which this letter brought to light, that had been made by many American physicians upon the pestilence in different seaports of the United States. Other papers might be referred to containing his clinical opinions; his reflections upon the nature and treatment of scarlet fever and other disorders may be found in the improved edition of Good's Study of Medicine edited by Dr. Doane.

State medicine, or that division of science which comprehends the principles of evidence afforded by the different branches of medicine, in elucidating and determining questions in courts of law, had been long and advantageously taught in German and other continental universities, when, in 1807, the chair of Medical Jurisprudence was founded at the University of Edinburgh, and Dr. Duncan, Jun., appointed Professor. The following year Dr. Stringham, who had graduated at that school, gave a course of lectures, the first delivered in the United States, on the same subject, in the college at New-York. As his successor, Dr. Francis was among the earliest teachers in the United States of this important and now generally cultivated department of knowledge. But it was not merely as a teacher that he exhibited the extent of his inquiries and practical researches in forensic medicine, and enlisted the enthusiasm of the student. During the greater part of his professional career, in almost every case of criminal prosecution in our judicial courts, his opinions have been solicited, and have seldom or ever been the subject of doubt or controversy. Dr. Francis invariably availed himself of the deductions which anatomy and pathology afford.

Nor have either his studies or his writings been confined to subjects strictly professional. Several of his biographical notices are valuable

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contributions to the stock of elegant and general literature: these sketches are drawn with a free and manly hand, with faithfulness and discrimination. Among the most valuable of them may be mentioned his account of Cadwallader Colden, one of the earliest practitioners of physic in New York; those of Edward Miller, Benjamin Rush, Archibald Bruce, James S. Stringham, Thomas Eddy. His record of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, is an honorable testimony to the memory of that remarkable man, whose genius and character will be more highly valued the longer his merits are contemplated. The occasional addresses of Dr. Francis are written with taste and spirit united with candor and good feeling. His address to the New York Horticultural Society, in elegant language, portrays the beauties of nature adorned by art. The oration before the literary societies of Columbia College, in May, 1831, exhibits an important outline of the life and services of that distinguished patriot, the late Chancellor Livingston. venerable President Madison transmitted a letter of approbation to the author, for the service he had rendered to American Biography, by his interesting account of the revolutionary patriot, which will be found in this volume. His discourse at the opening of the new hall of the Lyceum of Natural History, as yet but partially in print, is perhaps his most extensive production. It was delivered in December. 1836: its object is to recommend the cultivation of the natural sciences. and to bring together the most striking and important facts yet made known, concerning the natural history and physical resources of the new world.

The humane physician is perhaps more exposed than any other member of society to taxes on his time and benevolence: in seasons of pestilence and calamity, the claims of charity are not to be slighted or avoided. The later visitations of the yellow fever, and of the malignant cholera, bear witness to the sensibility of Dr. Francis to the cause of humanity, and to his intrepid discharge of his duties. His clinical views of the new Asiatic plague, as it prevailed in New York in 1832, in which city it entombed upwards of four thousand inhabitants, are published in a letter to Dr. Reed of Savannah. This letter was so favorably received at that anxious period, that more than one hundred thousand copies, in various forms, were circulated in different sections of the Union. In France it excited the attention of professional men; and the authorities at Havana, when the cholera appeared there, had the pamphlet translated into the Spanish language, and widely diffused through the island of Cuba.

Dr. Francis has been honored with membership in many humane,

literary, and scientific societies at home and abroad, and is in correspondence with several of their associates. In 1850, Trinity College conferred on Professor Francis the degree of LL. D.

The sketch here given of Dr. Francis exhibits a life more active than eventful, but evidently one that would have been far more eventful had it been less active. Engaged in the duties of a laborious profession, in a great city, at the early age of twenty, and soon after called upon to apply all his unexpended energies to sustain and advance the reputation of a newly-established medical school, and to assist in editing a medical journal, he could have found but little leisure for unbroken study, or the preparation of elaborate treatises on the art to which he is devoted. Untiring activity in his proper vocation, and scrupulous devotion to its claims, have characterized his whole professional career. The hope of being able to relieve his suffering fellow-beings has ever been sufficient to call forth every exertion, and every sacrifice in his power to make. The call of poverty has always been as loud in his ear, and has been answered with as much alacrity, as that of wealth. It is well known that his services and his contributions to the relief of distress, would together amount to sums surpassing the charities of many men of the largest means. There are many extraordinary traits in the character of the subject of this memoir, which have scarcely been touched upon from its necessary brevity; among them none more remarkable than the facility and fidelity with which he goes through his duties: the every day demands constantly develope in him an energy, a power of endurance, and a disregard to personal comfort, that are called forth in others only by great emergencies and trying occasions. The amount of labor performed by him is almost unexampled; he accomplishes more of every thing, and besides has more of social enjoyment, than most others. It is the same with his mind as with his body: no drafts upon it exhaust its power, its stock is always at command. The possessor of such a mind must naturally sigh for a release from the thraldom of professional toil, and the liberty to expatiate freely and widely in the regions of thought. If such a boon is ever earned by years of faithful service, and benevolent exertion in the cause of humanity, Dr. Francis will not fail of obtaining it; and we know that he would ask for himself no higher reward, nor would we ask for him greater glory, or for science more honor, than he would confer upon her, could he be allowed to enjoy it.

This outline of a remarkably active professional career, gives but an inadequate view of the character of its subject. There is a great

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similarity in the outward experience of the successful practitioner of medicine in a large metropolis; but the endowments of each individual, and the circumstances of life essentially modify his influence and usefulness. In the case of Dr. Francis, a strong natural bias for literary pursuits, and an uncommon degree of public spirit, as well as sympathy with artists, authors, and men of science, have induced the exertion of his talents, and the devotion of his leisure in other spheres, than that of his special vocation. He presents one of the rare instances where this has been accomplished, without the slightest interference with regular duty. Blest with a vigorous constitution, great powers of endurance, and a singular facility both of thought and action, he has been enabled to achieve a wide range of reading in all the departments of learning and taste, and at the same time, to cultivate the intimacy of those whose lives are devoted to literature, science, and art. effect of this two-fold culture is apparent, not only in the essential aid rendered by Dr. Francis to the cause of social progress, by means of his cordial support, cheering sympathy, and intelligent cooperation, but also, by many eloquent contributions to American letters. These consist, besides his medical writings, to which allusion has already been made, of addresses, biographical memoirs of distinguished characters, and personal reminiscences. In the latter department, Dr. Francis is a proficient. His anecdotes of interesting personages have a remarkable significance: gleaned during many years of familiar acquaintance, caught up by quick and accurate observation, and preserved by a memory wonderfully retentive, they render his conversation admirable, suggestive, and memorable. In some few instances, as those of the old physicians of New York, Cooke and Kean, the celebrated actors some of the original editors, naturalists, and artists, such as Freneau, Wilson, Jarvis, Fenimore Cooper, and distinguished Knickerbockers, like Pintard, Livingston, Fulton, and others. These attractive memorials have appeared in the journals of the day, or the occasional discourses of the author. One of the most characteristic and valuable of the latter was delivered on the anniversary of the New York Academy of Medicine, of which Dr. Francis was the first president. No more able vindication of medicine as a science, or more powerful appeal to its votaries for its advancement and elevation, has ever appeared. It is rich, too, in historical illustration, and local anecdote, and has a rhetorical finish which amply sustains the literary reputation of its author. All this was admirably illustrated, too, in the profoundly interesting address he delivered at the New York Typographical Society Banquet, January 16, 1852; an occasion which his hearers will never

forget. In his social character, Dr. Francis represents an almost obsolete class. He is emphatically a New Yorker in his feelings and associations. The frank hospitality of the early colonists is combined around his fireside with the discursive intercourse of the savan, and the patriotic sentiment of the citizen. In American history and biography he is an oracle; and has been an efficient member of all the institutions originated to advance the interests of literature and science in his native city. With enlarged benevolence, a mind unwearied in inquiry, constant association with men and books, and an ardent love of knowledge, as well as friendship for its promoters, Dr. Francis finds time, even amidst the unceasing claims of an extensive practice, thus to identify his name with the progress of the age, and the literature of his country.

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Sydia Huntley Sigourney.





LYDIA HUNTLEY SIGOURNEY.

Were we called upon to point out the woman, of America, most worthy to be held up as the pattern and glory of her sex, without a second thought, we should turn, heart and mind, to Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney.

She was the only child of Mr. Ezekiel Huntley, and a native of Norwich, Connecticut. Her mother, whose maiden name was Wentworth, had a nature enriched with the old pilgrim strength, which gave such distinctive lineaments to the women of her time, and possessed also a wealth of that pure unwritten poetry which found expression in her child. Lydia Huntley was born a true woman, and a true poet. To speak of her birth as being high or low, would be affectation; for, the seat of nobility in our republic, is the soul which comes from God. Though Lydia Huntley must have had a laudable pride in the staunch New England character of her parents, in their probity, natural intelligence, and high respectability, yet the birthright which gives her fame and features a place in this gallery, is from Heaven.

Some day—when the hearths and tombs of our great spirits shall become shrines,—Norwich, Connecticut, will be haunted by those who render homage to genius, for it was her birthplace—and Hartford also, for it was long her home: may the time when her tomb shall be pointed out, remain far, far distant.

Mr. Huntley was a landholder, and had also charge of an estate belonging to Madam Lathrop, the widow of Dr. Daniel Lathrop, and daughter of Joseph Talcott, Governor of Connecticut in 1735 and 1741. In this lady's mansion, his family resided, a separate establishment, but with all the social links of existence drawn close by the hourly intercourse thus enjoyed. Madam Lathrop was a widow and childless, when the little Lydia brought the charm of infant genius to her dwelling. She had nearly reached the limits of fourscore, when the bloom of childhood, and the ripe wisdom of green old age blended their holy contrasts at one fireside. You can see traces of this early association in Mrs. Sigourney even yet. Her meekness is that of one early

impressed with hallowed reverence for the great and good. The subdued manner—the thoughtful care of everything around her—the sweet self-forgetfulness, which half conceals the under current of affection swelling strong and deep beneath this womanly gentleness—all these beautiful traits must have received their most vivid impulses from her infant intercourse with venerable and saintly age.

It is said that the child was precocious, and this is not wonderful, with her own fine nature gathering up the moral strength and golden experience of her aged friend. How could it well be otherwise? But, unlike the generality of precocious children, her after life has been a bright progression. Perhaps this precocity originated in the heart, and excited by love, the brain sprang forward in fervent and healthful

sympathy.

Madam Lathrop was a highly gifted lady, with all her strong powers of mind and warm affections unimpaired, and possessed of that personal dignity which insured universal respect. Her memory ranged back through almost the entire eighteenth century, and her friendships had been among the most powerful intellects of her time. Her actual life embraced the most thrilling portion of our national history, and her mind was enriched with that pure old English literature, which had not then been diluted by the froth of desultory authorship. The venerable lady, with all this rich store of intelligence fresh in her memory, still felt the infirmities of advanced years, and but for this gentle child, must have spent many lonely hours while her mind was still athirst for the mental aliment which impaired sight denied. Was not this enough to arouse the soul of a child full of affection and bright with genius? At three years of age, she could read the Bible, and we soon find her in that "low browed and ample room; the wood fire gleaming upon crimson moreen curtains; the gilded clock,-ebony framed mirrors, and polished wainscot, giving back the light from two stately antique candlesticks, reading Milton, and Young, and Sherlock, to her loved friend who sits knitting in the cushioned easy chair." Thus it would seem that through her affections, Lydia Huntley became precocious. It was no feverish excitement of the brain, but the early and wholesome growth of noble qualities that have strengthened to her present vigorous maturity.

Madam Lathrop's library was rich with chaste English authors, and amid these ancient books her little friend first began to dream those bright imaginings that softly as the dew falls, took to themselves melodies, and at length swelled into poems that will live among the

first and best that have enriched our national literature.

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The early inspirations of her genius met the most encouraging sympathy from her revered benefactress, and at eight years of age the child had secured two rare blessings, a judicious loving friend, and the power to express the thoughts that tranquilly, like unfolded blossoms lay in her heart.

Seldom has it fallen to the lot of a being so gifted, to be thus favored, and fostered. A fond, vigorous minded, and truly religious father; a mother possessed of rare practical sense, with that delicate fancy which must unconsciously have imbued the child with its own unwrought romance; a friend such as few persons were privileged ever to possess; surrounded by all that refines in wealth, without the selfishness and pampered appetites that too often follow in its train, or attend its expectations. We cannot imagine a state of things more favorable to the development of a mind like hers!

Thus, for fourteen years, Lydia Huntley lived in the sweetest and purest of life's enjoyments: but at that period, her noble friend having reached the age of 88—died. Like the fruit of a tropical climate, she had drunk the sunshine and dew of heaven upon the same bough with the blossom, and now fell away, fully ripe, leaving the delicate flower but half unfolded. To the child of genius this was the first great sorrow.

Among the coevals of the subject of this sketch, there was no one to whom she was so tenderly attached as to Ann Maria Hyde, a young lady whose moral and fine mental powers were graced and rendered winning by sweetness of disposition, unaffected modesty, and varied acquirements. The friendship of these two young persons was intimate and endearing. They were companions in long rural walks, they sat side by side at their studies, visited at each other's dwellings, read together, wrought the same embroidery, or, with paint and pencil, shaded the same flower. Youthful friendships are usually so transient, that this might scarcely demand notice, save for the strength of its foundation. It appeared to be based upon a mutual desire to do good; a fixed purpose to employ the talents which God had given them, for the benefit of the world upon which they had entered. In pursuance of this object, they not only assiduously cultivated their mental powers, but engaged with alacrity in domestic affairs and household duties; finding time, also to make garments for the poor, to instruct indigent children, to visit the old and infirm, and to watch with the sick and dying.

Among the plans for future usefulness, which these young friends revolved, none seemed so feasible, or so congenial to their tastes, as

that of devoting themselves to the work of education. This, therefore, they adopted as their chosen sphere of action, and resolutely kept this object in view through the course of their own intellectual culture. The books they read, the studies they pursued, the accomplishments they sought, all had reference to this practical design. After qualifying themselves to teach those English sciences which were considered necessary to the education of young females, together with the elements of the Latin and French, they spent some time in schools at Hartford, principally to acquire those ornamental branches, which were then deemed essential. On their return, they entered, at the age of nineteen, upon the business of instruction. A class of young ladies in their native town gathered around them, and into this circle they cast not only the affluence of well stored minds, and the cheering inspiration of youthful zeal, but all the strength of their best and holiest principles. Animated, blooming, happy, linked affectionately, arm in arm, they daily came in among their pupils, diffusing love and cheerfulness with knowledge, and commanding the most grateful affection and respect. After a pleasing association of two years, the young teachers parted, each to pursue the same line of occupation in a different sphere. But another separation, fatal and afflictive, was appointed. Miss Hyde became the victim of a fever, at the age of twenty-four, in the midst of usefulness and promise. Of this beloved companion, Miss Huntley published an interesting memoir, soon after her decease; and again recurs to her with gushing tenderness, in the piece entitled "Home of an Early Friend," written nearly thirty years after the stroke of bereavement. In flowing verse, and prose almost as harmonious as music, she has twined a lasting memorial of the virtues of the departed, and of that tender friendship which was a marked incident in her own young life.

Before the death of her friend, she had entered with fresh enthusiasm, at Hartford, upon the task of instruction. In this path she was still happy and successful. It was regarded a privilege to be received into her circle, and many of her pupils became life-long friends. She there resided as a welcome and cherished inmate of the family of Madam Wadsworth, relict of Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, whose mother was a Talcott, and nearly connected with the revered Madam Lathrop. The mansion-house in which Madam Wadsworth and the aged sisters of her husband dwelt, stood upon the spot now occupied by the Wadsworth Atheneum. It was a spacious structure, unadorned, but deeply interesting in its historic associations. The poem "On the Removal of an Ancient Mansion," is a graphic delineation of the impressions made

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upon Mrs. Sigourney's mind, by her acquaintance with the threshold and hearth-stone of this fine old house, and her communion with its excellent inmates.

Another member of the same family, Daniel Wadsworth, Esq., a man of great taste and erudition, manifested a lively interest in her mental cultivation. He had known her from infancy, under the roof of Madam Lathrop, and had there seen some of her early effusions, both in prose and verse.

At his earnest solicitation, she consented that some of these should be arranged for the press. The selection, which was principally from her journals, with some fugitive poems prompted by passing occurrences, was made by himself; and with his influence and liberality, cast round her as a shield, she first ventured to appear before the public. Seldom has it been the lot of a young author to find a patron so wise, and a friend so true. His kind regard, and that of his amiable lady for her, suffered no diminution until their death, which took place in the years 1845 and 1848, when each had attained the age of seventyseven. Full of years, and full of honors, they passed away; and her grateful affection for them has been often expressed in her writings, while the memory of their munificence and piety, is held dear among the people where they dwelt. "Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse," the book just alluded to, was followed by the "Memoir of Ann Maria Hyde;" and being urgently solicited by the various periodicals of the day, she became as frequent a contributor to their pages, as the absorbing duties of a teacher would permit. "Traits of the Aborigines," a poem in five cantos, and the longest of her poetical works, was also composed during this period, though not published until after her marriage.

We have now glanced at the principal circumstances that would seem to have had an influence in forming the intellectual and moral character of Miss Huntley. Among these, doubtless, the discipline of her life as a teacher, was strong and salutary. The later emanations of her genius, are enriched with deeper trains of thought, and melodies of higher and more varied power, the outpourings of fresh affections,

and the ripened fruits of a meridian sun.

Her marriage with Charles Sigourney, Esq., of Hartford, took place in the summer of 1819. This gentleman was a native of Boston, a merchant of high standing, and a prominent member of the Episcopal Church. His early education had been conducted in one of the thorough and excellent schools of the mother-land, where the foundations are laid deep and strong, by a more energetic discipline than would be tolerated

in our republic. A more convincing proof of the perfection of their system, can scarcely be adduced, than the fact that though the period of his scholastic culture terminated at the age of fourteen, when he returned to his native clime, and devoted himself to the mercantile profession, his critical knowledge of the Latin classics, as well as of the French language, remains unimpaired, though more than three score and ten years have passed over him. To these attainments, he added after the age of fifty, during the brief intervals of business, so much knowledge of Greek, as enabled him to read the Scriptures in that language. Such are his intellectual tastes and habits of application, and so critical the style of whatever has proceeded from his pen, that had he entered the departments of either literature or science, there is no doubt that he might there have won a distinguished reputation.

Mrs. Sigourney, as far as attention to new and important duties would admit, continued her literary pursuits, and was sustained by an increasing fame, both at home and abroad.

A few years after her marriage, a volume of poems appeared from the Boston press, which of itself was enough to secure the position which she still maintains, as first among the female poets of America. But previously to this, a collection of her poetical writings, so far as they could be collected from the periodicals in which they first appeared, had been published in London, under the title of "Lays from the West." As a writer of prose, she has been received with marked favor. "Letters to Young Ladies," and "Letters to Mothers," rank with the most beautiful and useful of her productions. Not less than five editions of the former work, have been issued by two publishing houses in London. Quite a number of juvenile books have proceeded from her pen, some of which were prepared as assistants in the instruction of her own little ones. Her works, of different sizes and pretensions, amount to between forty and fifty, more than twenty of which are now in active circulation. Some have passed through numerous editions, others are entirely out of print. Several of them have been published in England and Scotland, with high appreciation. Her latest volume of poems was an illustrated octavo, from the Philadelphia press, issued in a uniform series with Bryant, Willis, Longfellow, and Mrs. Osgood.

Among her poems, the longest ones, "Traits of the Aborigines," 'Zinzendorff," and "Pocahontas," have not been the most popular, though the last named, is a highly wrought piece of sterling value. Her most beautiful effusions, those which are favorites now, and destined to lasting fame and favor, are short productions—tender,

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lyrical, impassioned, descriptive, simple in thought and complete in finish. Such are "The Coral Insect," "Death of an Infant," "Western Emigrant," "Connecticut River," "Niagara," "Return of Napoleon," "The Last Supper," "Indian Names," "Berkshire Jubilee," and countless others, all of the same unrivalled grace; and though each be but a single bud or flower, yet, woven together, they form a wreath of undying bloom, verdure, and fragrance, which would adorn the brow of any poet of any age.

Her works have been ever held in subservience to the duties of the domestic sphere, and written amid interruptions, which only an early and fixed attention to system in the division of time could have overcome. Of her poems, she herself says, "the greater part were suggested by passing events, and partake of the nature of extemporaneous productions. Like wild flowers amid the dells or clefts of the rock, they have sprung up wherever the path of life has chanced to lead."

More freely than any of our authors, she has been invoked for anniversary odes, hymns for benevolent societies, and elegiac verses to solace mourning strangers; services which must from their nature be promptly rendered, and were seldom refused, though their payment could not be in fame, but in the pleasure of obliging. Miss Edgeworth, in her critique upon the writings of Mrs. Sigourney, thus alludes to this species of extemporaneous composition.

"Mrs. Sigournex appears to have the power of writing extempore on passing events, at the moment they are called for. But few persons of genius, especially of poetic genius, have ever possessed this power. She must have great command over her own mind, and what a celebrated physician used to call voluntary attention, in which most people are lamentably deficient, so that they can never write anything well, when the subject is suggested, and the effort bespoken. Those powers are twice valuable, that can well accomplish their purpose on demand. Certainly, as it regards poetic gifts, they who give promptly, give twice.

"Yet how few, even of professed and eminent writers, have been able to produce any effusions worthy of their reputation, or even worth reading, on what the French call 'de sujets de command,' and what we English designate, as on the spur of the moment. Addison could not. Gray could not. Mrs. Sigourney's friends will be ready to bear testimony that she can."

During her whole life, Mrs. Sigourney has been a devoted daughter, venerating and honoring her parents, almost like a child, even in her maternity. Her love soothed her pious mother upon her death bed, and

when her venerable father, who five years survived his life's companion. had no one to rest upon, but that noble daughter, she became all the world to him. By that deep love, with which genius like hers brightens life, she cheered him with more than a child's devotion, along his widowed path, and when the good old Christian, in his eightyeighth year, went gently down to the grave, his memory became to her a holy thing. Those who visit her pretty cottage home in Hartford, will find the portrait of this venerable father over the parlor mantle-piece, the face pleasant and tranguil, the hair untouched by a thread of silver, for so it was, even to the last—and a smile lingering not upon the lips alone, but diffused in a gentle glow of benevolence all over the features. In its old place, by the chimney-piece of his own small apartment, stands the staff that supported his last footsteps: and in the daughter's face, as she points out those objects, you will read that undying love, which was only turned more reverently heavenward, by the death of its object.

In 1840, Mrs. Sigourney having had a voyage recommended by her physician, spent a year in England, Scotland, and France. No American ever visited Europe, who, either as a lady or a poetess, was more generally respected. With Samuel Rogers, Joanna Bailey, Maria Edgeworth, Mrs. S. C. Hall, and some of the best families among the nobility, she became an honored friend and guest. Among the different classes of Christians in Europe, Mrs. Sigourney moved as a lady, not only of high moral worth, but as distinguished by a spirit, the very opposite of bigotry. She did much to recommend piety in connection with dignified and easy manners, especially among young ladies, some of whom will ever cherish the recollections of her visit among the richest gems of memory. From the Queen of the French, she received after her return, the gift of a superb diamond bracelet, which is now endowed with a touching historical interest.

This year abroad, gave origin to "Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands," one of the most exquisite books of travel ever issued from the American press, and which has ministered to the gratification of many thousands in Europe, as well as in this country.

Up to the present time, Mrs. Sigourney's are among the purest gems of our magazine literature, and her position as first in purity and talent among the lady writers of America, has never been disputed by a person worthy the name of critic.

Two children, a son and daughter, have rewarded Mrs. Sigourney for the affection bestowed on her own parents. The daughter is still by ner side. All the pure taste and sweet feminine qualities of the mother

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brighten again through the young life of her daughter. But her son, a youth of noble promise, joined his grandfather in Heaven, in the bloom of nineteen. How the bereaved mother suffered, how her woman's heart wrestled with its grief, those who know how deeply and tenderly she has sympathized with the sorrows not only of friends, but of strangers, can well imagine. It is impossible for those who know and love her, to think of this bereavement, without a thrill of sympathy for the sublime submission of that weeping mourner, enabled to exclaim in the depth of her anguish—"God's time and will are beautiful, and through blinding tears I would fain give him praise."

It was in the summer of 1850, that she was called to resign to the tomb, this only son, with whose peculiarly susceptible nature, her own had an intense indwelling, and who early evinced uncommon maturity of mind, extent of intelligence, refinement of spirit, and thoughtful piety. This sorrow has called forth the most tender and impressive of all her works, "The Faded Hope," which was published in England and Scotland, immediately after its appearance in this country. We venture to say, that this touching, simple portraiture, cannot be read without tears. Should the system of intellectual and moral culture, which it unfolds, suggest some important improvements in home-education, which we trust it will, she may yet have reason to rejoice in the happy results of the removal of one, so deeply beloved.

It has already been mentioned that the writings of Mrs. Sigourner have been kindly received, and warmly appreciated in the mother land. Two volumes of her poems, which appeared from the English press during her visit in Europe, the London Atheneum describes as "Reprints of the sweet and graceful compositions which have raised the name of Mrs. Sigourner to the highest rank among the female ornaments of American literature and poetry;" and adds, "So many specimens of her muse, however, have found place in almost every sort of English publication, reviews, magazines, selections, &c., that we will not quote any further examples of their well known beauties, but commend them heartily to the favor of our reading community."

After all, we conceive that Mrs. Sigourney has never fully reached the point, to which her intellectual endowments entitled her to aspire. She has labored in too many fields, and been too strenuous, that no womanly duty should be left undischarged, to have allowed unobstructed scope to her genius. The most striking feature in her habitudes, is intense and systematic industry. In the laborious work of an educator, in the sphere of a New England housekeeper, which is vol. IV-13

expected to comprise care, active effort, and economy, and in the various departments of benevolence, which our age continually multiplies, she has performed almost as much as though she had not been a writer. Whatever employment was pressed on her, by her position, and by what pity or piety seemed to ask of her sex, she considered as a duty to be discharged first; and the pen, as partaking more of the nature of a solace, has been held secondary. Had literary fame been her paramount object, this classification would not have been adopted. Yet we doubt not, she prefers it thus to be, not having "loved the praise of men, more than the praise of God."

On a review, we find the history of Mrs. Sigourney, like herself, unpretending, and full of beautiful quietude. It is marked with no strong passages—no overweening ambition—no unwomanly aspirations. Timid, shrinking, gentle as a child—one is almost startled to find her the pioneer of female literature in America, and to learn that she became an author when authorship required courage, when its reward was more than doubtful, and when it was yet undecided, whether fame or reproach would be the result of literary exertion, in a woman. With all her domestic habits, and sweet feminine qualities unimpaired, her genius became triumphant. She has established a noble reputation for herself, a beautiful precedent for her sister women, and yet remained true to her sex, true to her nationality, and true to her God.





Winfield Sist.





The grandfather of Winfield Scott was a Scotchman, and took part in the rebellion of 1745, fighting against the king; this compelled him to flee from his country and settle in Virginia, where he became a lawyer. William Scott, the father of our hero, was a farmer, and married Ann Mason, a lady of excellent sense and great virtue. William died young, leaving his wife the sole guardian of five children, with a small property, which only a rigid economy could render adequate for their support and education. Winfield was born near Petersburg, Virginia, June 13, 1786. It will be seen that he was a hardy child of difficulty and fortitude, and no nursling of ease and indulgence. But he was always disposed to exertion, and therefore obtained a good education, chose the law as a profession, attended a course of law lectures at William and Mary college, entered a lawyer's office, and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty, in 1806.

In the summer of 1807 occurred the wanton attack of the British frigate Leopard on the Chesapeake, and the imprisonment of several of her crew on the allegation that they were British subjects. Young Scott ardently shared in the indignation of his countrymen, and joined a volunteer corps in Petersburgh, and marched with them down to Lynnhaven Bay. But this little cloud soon blew over, the volunteers were called home, and Scott returned to the practice of his profession; soon, however, to leave it forever, Providence having marked out for him a wide and glorious career. A war was inevitable; Congress passed a bill to raise an army, and in 1808 Scott received from President Jefferson a commission as captain of artillery. In 1809 he was ordered to Louisiana, and placed under the command of General Wilkinson, for which officer he had no respect. Scott, himself filled with patriotic ardor and honor, believed Wilkinson to be implicated in Burr's conspiracy, and of this conviction he made no secret; the result was that Wilkinson preferred charges against him, which resulted in VOL I-6

his suspension from the service for a year. In this punishment he had the sympathy of his brother officers, who, on the occasion of his sentence, complimented him with a public dinner. The interval of suspension was passed by Scorr in a thorough systematic study of the science of military tactics, so that he re-appeared in service with superior fitness for the great duties now about to devolve upon him.

On the 18th of June, 1812, war was declared, when it was found that the military preparations of the country had been utterly inadequate to the necessities of the crisis. An expedition was planned to seize on Upper Canada, and the execution entrusted to General Hull; who, however, ingloriously surrendered to General Brock, the British commander, without striking a blow. Scott felt, with the whole country, the dishonor of the General, and longed to avenge our disasters on the very spot where they had been suffered, a result which he soon after gloriously accomplished.

Receiving the commission of lieutenant-colonel from President Madison, Scott repaired to the Niagara frontier, and took up his position at Black Rock. In October he undertook, in conjunction with Lieutenant Elliott of the navy, the capture of two British armed brigs, the "Adams" and "Caledonia," then lying moored under the guns of the British Fort Erie, nearly opposite. The attempt was gallant and successful. Here was the commencement of that succession of victories which soon crowned our arms with glory on the lakes and in Canada.

The American troops had now received a new impulse, and began to recover from their dispirited feelings, arising from Hull's inglorious surrender. A body of them lay below Lewiston, under the command of General Stephen Van Rensselaer, and demanded to be led into Canada, though no sufficient preparations had been made for such a step. Scott became eager to join the expedition, and by a forced march hastened through mud and rain to the scene of action. The arrangements of the embarkation, however, were such as to preclude him from joining the columns of the invading force. He accordingly took up a position, with his artillery, where he could best cover the landing of our troops, and opened an effective fire on the enemy. The divisions under Colonels Solomon Van Rensselaer and Chrystie behaved nobly; and on the arrival of General Brock, the governor of Upper Canada, who headed a charge against our troops, they mortally wounded Brock, and his secretary, but they themselves had lost Colonel Chrystie, and other noble spirits. At this moment Scorr arrived on the ground, and the entire command of the corps, now about six hundred, was committed

to him. General Wadsworth acted second in command, and his attachment to his youthful leader often induced him to interpose his own person to shield Scott from the bullets of the Indian rifles, which were aimed against his commanding person. The position of Scott and his army was now truly perilous; the British garrison at Fort George had poured forth its men, who, with five hundred Indians. advanced upon them, and successive reinforcements continued to arrive until their number was not less than thirteen hundred men, while the Americans had been reduced to less than three hundred. No succor was to be expected, for our troops on the American shore had refused to come to the aid of their comrades. Retreat was hopeless. Scott. by no means daunted by the imminent peril of his position, mounted a fallen tree of the forest, and calling around him his now diminished band, uttered these thrilling words: "The enemy's balls have thinned our ranks. His numbers are overwhelming. Directly the shock must come, and there is no retreat. We are in the beginning of a national war. Hull's ignominious surrender must be retrieved. Let us die then, arms in hand! Our country demands the sacrifice. The example will not be lost. The blood of the slain will make heroes of the living. Who is ready for the sacrifice?" An enthusiastic cry answered this eloquent appeal. "We are ALL ready!" was the reply. Though sorely pressed, the Americans maintained their ground, until finding themselves utterly surrounded and overwhelmed by superior numbers, they finally gave way and surrendered to the inevitable necessity of the occasion. Their heroic resistance, however, redeemed the honor of our arms, and proved by defeat itself that victory was close at hand. Scott, by this calamity, became better known for gallantry; for he was always in battle in full dress uniform, and his tall stature of full six feet five inches made him a conspicuous mark, especially to the Indians. When he was urged, on one very perilous occasion, on this account to change his dress, he replied, "No, I will die in my robes." At that moment Captain Lawrence fell at his side by a shot from the enemy.

After the surrender, while Scorr was a prisoner in the village of Niagara, an attack was made on his life by two Indians; but he would have cloven both to the earth with a sword, which he had suddenly laid hold of, had it not been for a British officer, who, alarmed by the noise, interposed and saved their lives. About the same time, when the British officers were selecting from the American prisoners the Irishmen, whom they intended to send home to grace the gallows, our hero denounced their proceedings, and threatened a like retaliation

upon British prisoners if they dared to execute a single man among his comrades. Scott commanded his men not to speak, so that no more Irishmen could be recognized; twenty-three, however, were sent home, but in the end returned; as Scott was soon exchanged, and gave proof that he had the power as well as the disposition to retaliate on the English. Singularly enough, on the very day of the landing of these twenty-three returned comrades at New York, Scott, still suffering from wounds he had in the meantime received, passed along the quay on foot; he was instantly recognized by the now liberated prisoners, and knowing of all he had accomplished in their behalf, they rushed upon him with cheers, expressing a fervor of affectionate gratitude and delight which it is impossible to describe.

Shortly after his release, Scott rejoined the army, as adjutant-general, at Fort Niagara, and was allowed, at his own request, to command his own regiment on all occasions of peril and hardship. Not long after he was in great danger; Dearborn, who was anxiously watching the movements of the troops, seeing with his glass his favorite leader fall, burst into tears, exclaiming, "He is lost!—He is killed!" But our hero was neither killed nor vanquished. He recovered himself, and rallying his men again, eagerly rushed forward, sword in hand, upon the enemy. A furious fight ensued, but at the end of twenty minutes the foe gave ground, and fled in dismay before the resistless valor of our young leader. He assaulted the Fort, forced the gates, and was the first to enter.

Here may be the proper place to give an anecdote illustrative alike of the honor and good feeling of our soldier. After his capture, the year before, he was supping with General Sheafe, and a number of British officers, when one of them, a colonel, asked Scott if he had ever seen the neighboring Falls; Scott replied, "yes, from the American side." To this the other sarcastically replied, "you must have the glory of a successful fight before you can view the cataract in all its grandeur." Scott rejoined, "If it be your intention to insult me, sir, honor should have first prompted you to return me my sword!" General Sheafe promptly rebuked the British colonel, and the matter was dropped. This same colonel, the following year, was taken prisoner by Scott at Fort George, and treated with great kindness and consideration. This treatment extorted the following remark from the prisoner to his captor: "I have long owed you an apology, sir. You have overwhelmed me with kindnesses. You can now view the Falls in all their grandeur, at your leisure."

In July of 1813, Colonel Scott was appointed to the command of a

double regiment, and withdrew from his post of adjutant-general. In September an expedition against Burlington Heights was planned, and its execution entrusted to Scott; from hence he removed to York, where he found large depôts of clothing, provisions, and other military stores, together with several pieces of cannon and eleven armed boats: all these were captured, and their barracks and public store-houses destroyed. With the close of the campaign, a new and important sphere of duty opened upon Colonel Scott. He was now to be called on to awake a new army into being, whose deeds should efface the remembrance of the campaign of that year, and whose prowess should extort the plaudits of admiring millions. After making preparations at Albany and Buffalo for future proceedings, on the 9th of March, 1814, he was appointed brigadier-general by president Madison, at the early age of twenty-seven, and at once entered on his duties. We had heretofore used the Prussian system of tactics: Scott now introduced the far more perfect modern French system, the one which we still employ. The new recruits were immediately put under efficient drill; the army was converted into a vast military school; and was kept incessantly employed till it was thoroughly trained; and the raw militia in three months proved itself able to conquer the renowned veterans of Wellington himself.

It is, however, impossible in a work like this, to describe the half of what was done by our illustrious soldier, whose prowess and fame were every day increasing. He led the van when Fort Erie surrendered at discretion; at Chippewa, where he had to contend with opposing troops, the very flower of the British army, and had a much smaller number of men, who had never seen service, he obtained a decided conquest; at Lundy's Lane, one of the most memorable battles, we ever fought, and where our victory was one of the dearest we ever won, conquest also awaited our hero. This victory was indeed obtained at a high cost. In addition to our other great losses, Scorr himself was dangerously wounded. His shoulder was shattered, and a bullet entered his side, so that for a month he lay in a most critical state, and in great suffering. After enduring much pain for a long season, he slowly journeyed towards Philadelphia, to which city he repaired for further surgical aid. Every where, as he passed, he was greeted by all the public honors and private attentions he could bear Princeton and Philadelphia, and afterwards Baltimore and Washington, were most conspicuous in these expressions of regard.

Peace having been obtained, there were no farther labors for Scott in the field; he was, however, raised to the rank of major-general, and

President Madison, when our hero was but twenty-eight, offered him the post of secretary of war; this, however, he declined. feebled state of his health, and the desire of still further professional improvement, suggested the desirableness of a voyage to Europe; and the government gave him a double commission; first, to examine the improvements of military science, and second, to conduct certain secret negotiations in regard to the independence of South America, and the supposed designs of England upon Cuba. He acquitted himself in these matters entirely to the satisfaction of his government. On his return home, he was placed in command of the eastern division of the army, with New York for his head quarters. In 1817 he married Miss Mayo, of Richmond, previously to which Congress had passed a vote of thanks to him for the eminent services he had rendered to his country, and voted him a large gold medal, inscribed with the names of "Chippewa" and "Niagara," and bearing his likeness. The states of New York and Virginia likewise bestowed similar compliments. Each of these states presented him with a sword of the richest workmanship. General Tompkins, of New York, made a public presentation of the sword given by that state, and in his address observed that it was presented to him by the state in token of its admiration of "a military career replete with splendid events." A singular incident is connected with the gold medal presented to General Scott by congress. It was at one time deposited for safe-keeping in the vault of the City Bank of New York. A noted robber broke into the safe, and carried off from thence everything else that was valuable; but spared this token of public honor, in evident respect for the brave soldier's only wealth. The case of the medal was found open, but retaining its precious contents untouched. Nor was this the only instance in which respect has been shown to true nobility of soul. Long after the event we have just narrated, General Scott, in traveling by steamboat from Albany to New York, had his pocket picked of a purse containing eight hundred dollars in gold. On arriving at New York, the General advertised his loss. His money was sent back to him by the head thief of the city, with a respectful assurance that none of his people would have touched the General's purse if they had known his person.

Although General Scott now retired for a while from active service into private life, he was by no means unemployed. He now commenced author, and in 1821 embodied his military system in a volume entitled "General Regulations for the Army." This was followed in 1825, in 1826, and in 1835 by other works of a similar character: in the last instance the work was published by order of Congress. We owe much,

it has been well said, to West Point, but West Point owes much to Scott. He has contributed more than any other man to give the United States army its leading characteristics of high spirit, lofty tone, gentlemanly bearing, extreme efficiency, and love of duty. Withal he has a deep desire to see it always prompted and guided by a spirit of humanity; so that he may well be called the Father of the American army.

In improving the discipline of the army, General Scott met with much difficulty from the prevalence of intemperance, and placed himself among the very earliest pioneers of the temperance reform. As long ago as 1821, he published, first in the National Gazette, of Philadelphia, and afterwards, in the form of a pamphlet, a plan to discourage the use of intoxicating liquors in the United States. This paper was written with great ability, and furnished the matter for thousands of temperance addresses since delivered. Indeed, in all his private and social relations he is one whom the youth of the country would do well to follow as a model. His moral character gives lustre to his historical celebrity. Personally he is without reproach and above suspicion.

Animated by the high spirit of a soldier, General Scott took a lively interest in the struggles of the South American republics to secure their independence. Among the acts which illustrated his interest in their behalf, were his successful endeavors to give a military education to three sons of General Paez, of Colombia. They were, by his exertions, placed at the Military Academy at West Point, in 1823, under the auspices of the President of the United States, where they were educated, and afterwards sent back to fight for the liberties of their native land.

In 1829 our hero again visited Europe on a professional tour of observation; and on his return, after an absence of several months, a war with the Indians on the Upper Mississippi, under the celebrated "Black Hawk," having assumed a formidable aspect, he was ordered by the War Department, in June 1832, to the scene of conflict, to take command of the forces sent to subdue the savages. He embarked at Buffalo, with about one thousand men, on board four steamers bound for the theatre of war. On the passage from Buffalo to Chicago, the Asiatic Cholera, which then for the first time visited this country, broke out on board the steamers conveying the troops, in the most frightful form. On board the General's own boat, out of two hundred and twenty persons, no less than fifty-two died, and eighty others were committed to the hospital within the short term of six days. The great fatality of this disease spread indescribable terror among the troops,

and among the population whither they were carried. Such was the effect produced that in the course of a very few days, sickness, death and desertion, had reduced the number of our troops from nine hundred and fifty to four hundred. Amid this terrible scene, instead of contenting himself with merely ordering the medical men to take all necessary measures for the relief of the sick, he attended them in person, and performed for his humblest comrade every disagreeable and dangerous office with a brother's care. Meantime the Indians were subdued by the Illinois militia and the troops under General Atkinson. and Black Hawk was captured. Scorr subsequently proceeded to the place of his destination, negotiated important treaties with the Sacs and Foxes, and the Winnebagoes, composed the difficulties on that frontier, and discharged all the duties of his mission in a manner which led Mr. Cass, then Secretary of War, to say to him, "Allow me to congratulate you, sir, upon this fortunate consummation of your arduous duties, and to express my entire approbation of the whole course of your proceedings, during a series of difficulties requiring higher moral courage than the operations of an active campaign under ordinary circumstances."

. Were we writing an extended biography of General Scott, we should here have much to say on the circumstances and the manner in which he executed his mission to South Carolina. A convention of that state had passed its ordinance declaring that the United States' revenue laws should not be enforced in South Carolina, and its legislature and executive were making preparations for an armed resistance. His work demanded a firm but conciliatory spirit, and great energy in action. That he should have been able, in face of impending hostilities, to associate and even hold friendly relations with the leading nullifiers, seems almost incredible, yet so it was. He withdrew from the scene with the reflection, that his course had been the chief means of saving his country from the horrors of internal strife, and of giving full satisfaction to all parties. In 1835 an Indian war raged in Florida, and the General was ordered there, but the campaign ended without any important results. Some complaints were made because he did not find and capture the hidden Seminoles. But an inquiry, which was instituted at Washington into that campaign, proved him entirely free from blame, and resulted in the unanimous approval of the conduct of the brave commander by the court. He was invited by his friends to public dinners at New York, Richmond, Va., and Elizabethtown, N. J., but declined them all, on account of the then commercial difficulties of the country. Nor less characteristic were his efforts in controlling and subduing the spirit which, on our Canadian frontier,

almost drove us into war with England. Here, as usual, he was successful; as he was also in his labors with the fifteen thousand of the Cherokee Indians who refused to emigrate, according to treaty. west of the Mississippi. His success in that case called forth the eloquent testimony of Dr. Channing: "In the whole history of the intercourse of civilized with barbarous or half-civilized communities. we doubt whether a brighter page can be found than that which records General Scott's agency in the removal of the Cherokees. As far as the wrongs done to this race can be atoned for, General Scott has made the expiation. It would not be easy to find among us a man who has won a purer fame." Equally honorable was his conduct in 1839, in settling the difficulties connected with the north-eastern boundary. Here he reaped new laurels, and earned a new claim to the title of the Great Pacificator. But we must hasten on to scenes which, more than any we have yet recorded, have brought him prominently before the world.

The death of Major-General Macomb having taken place June 25, 1841, Scott was called to the command of the entire army; and in the discharge of its regular duties he remained almost uninterruptedly for several years. He took part, however, in the discussion of several public topics which arose during this period, and was in 1844, as he had been in 1839, a prominent candidate for the presidency. He was, however, on the eve of still greater honors.

The peace of the country, after having been long menaced by the state of our relations with Mexico, was at length broken by an unexpected collision, and we found ourselves plunged into open war with that country. In May, 1846, the Mexican forces were suddenly precipitated in large numbers upon the little army of General Taylor, who had command of our forces on the Rio Grande. That distinguished veteran astonished and electrified the country by the indomitable valor he displayed in repulsing the enemy, and in winning, in swift succession, the two battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. On the 24th of November, in that year, General Scott set out from Washington for the theatre of hostilities, charged with the command of our arms in that quarter. He reached the Rio Grande January 1st, 1847. Santa Anna, the commander of the Mexican army, lay at San Luis Potosi, midway between the Rio Grande and the city of Mexico, at the head of twenty-two thousand men. General Taylor had now crossed the river and advanced to Saltillo, about one hundred and fifty miles towards San Luis Potosi. He had under his command a force of eighteen thousand troops, which occupied the line connecting his

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advanced position at Saltillo with the Rio Grande at Camargo. Scott divided this force, leaving ten thousand men under General Taylor, and taking the remainder with him by sea to Vera Cruz, where four thousand other troops had concentrated. The whole force was combined at the island of Lobos, and from that point the squadron, having on board twelve thousand men, set sail: General Scott, in the steamship Massachusetts, leading the van. As his steamer passed through the fleet, his tall form, conspicuous above every other, attracted the eyes of soldiers and sailors, who gave vent to their emotions of admiration and enthusiasm in one spontaneous cheer, which burst simultaneously from every vessel, and echoed and rang along the whole line. The fleet having arrived before Vera Cruz, and all preparations being completed, a little before sunset on the 9th of March the landing of this armament. destined for the reduction of one of the most formidable defences in the world, commenced, and before ten o'clock at night the troops had all been landed in perfect safety, with all their arms and accourrements, without the slightest accident, or the loss of a single life—an achievement almost unparalleled in a military operation of such magnitude. In three days the army and the fleet had taken up their positions, and invested both the city and the castle, preparatory to their bombardment and siege. Our lines of circumvallation were five miles in length, and surrounded the city. By the 22d all was ready, and General Scott, having offered a free conduct out of the city of all non-combatants, sent his summons to the Governor of Vera Cruz to surrender. The Governor refused, and the batteries opened their destructive fire upon the devoted city, while the ships commenced their fearful broadsides upon the castle. During three days and nights an incessant discharge from the brazen mouths of mortars and cannon was kept up with unflagging zeal and irresistible power. On the 25th an application for a truce was made by the enemy, which was refused, and a surrender demanded. Accordingly, on the following morning, overtures for a surrender were made, and the city and fortress fell into our hands. Among the fruits of this victory were five thousand prisoners, and five hundred pieces of artillery. Our loss was but six killed and sixty wounded.

General Scott now proposed to advance upon the city of Mexico, but on the way had to grapple with enemies, and to accomplish mighty triumphs. Santa Anna, who had just returned from the field of Buena Vista, had collected all his forces, and was posted on the heights of Serro Gordo. Here the Mexican general was entrenched at the head of fifteen thousand troops; and here an attack was made by Scott

with the most consummate skill. In this action, one of the most remarkable of the war, he captured three thousand prisoners, four thousand stand of arms, forty pieces of artillery, and a large quantity of ammunition. A large sum of specie also fell into the hands of the victors. Continuing his rapid march with his small but victorious army, the cities of Jalapa, Perote, and Puebla, were successively taken, with much treasure in them. At the latter place the General met with Mr. Trist, who had arrived from Washington with power to negotiate with the enemy for peace. All his efforts, however, failed, and Scott, who had improved the interval of hostilities in acquiring information, determined at once to advance on the city of Mexico, a distance of ninety miles. His whole army amounted to ten thousand seven hundred men, who had to meet Santa Anna, at the head of a well-appointed army, thirty thousand in number. To detail the battles of Contreras, Churubusco, and Molino del Rev, would be far too much for our limits; this reason also prevents us from describing the forbearance he displayed in granting an armistice on the very eve of certain conquest-shamefully abused, however, by Santa Anna. Suffice it to say, in the language of General Cass, when eulogizing Scott in the Senate of the United States, "The movement of our army from Puebla was one of the most romantic and remarkable events which has ever occurred in the military annals of our country. Our troops voluntarily cut off all communication with their own country, and advanced with stout hearts, but feeble numbers, into the midst of a hostile people. eyes of twenty millions of our countrymen were fixed upon this devoted band. They were lost to us for fifty days. But the cloud that hid them from our view at length broke, and disclosed to us our glorious flag waving in the breezes that drifted over the valley of the city of Mexico."

In a few days after the American flag was hoisted on the National Palace, the quiet of the city was restored, and all classes resumed their usual avocations, reposing the fullest confidence in the security afforded by our troops under their humane and Christian commander. Scott was now virtually the governor of Mexico. The manner in which he performed the responsible duties which devolved upon him for five months after his entrance into the city, exhibited him as a man amply qualified for the highest duties of statesmanship. It would be difficult to award any one higher praise than he received from all parties for his management of Mexican affairs after the termination of his military campaign.

On the 2d of February 1848, a treaty of peace was signed at Guadalope-Hidalgo by the Mexican and American commissioners; and on

the 22d of the following May he arrived at his home in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Here he was met by a committee from the civil authorities of the city of New York, and invited to a public dinner in that metropolis. He accepted the invitation, and escorted by a vast and imposing cavalcade, amid the roar of cannon and the waving of flags, and surrounded by dense and enthusiastic masses of his fellow citizens, he entered the city and partook of its highest honors. For a while he remained at his head quarters in New York, but in 1850 he was transferred to Washington, and took his place at the head of the army bureau, there to discharge its duties with as much industry and constancy as any clerk in the department.

Were General Scott at all disposed to cherish vanity, the high compliments which have been lavished upon him, by some of the most important of our states, might well make him proud; while the eulogiums pronounced on his conduct and character, by names eminent as Channing, and Clay, Clayton, and the Duke of Wellington, must more than satisfy his wishes; but he has far higher enjoyment in the consciousness of having served his country, and in the knowledge that his country is grateful for the benefits it has received. He now (July 1852) stands before the country, nominated by the Whig convention for the presi-

dency.

The General, as we have already said, is remarkably tall; though suffering pain from the British bullet still lurking in his system, he is yet hale, vigorous and active, and may be seen any morning at sunrise making his daily pedestrian tour of the city of Washington, and providing at the market for the daily necessities of his household. He is hospitable, hearty and generous in all his intercourse with his friends; manifests, on all occasions, urbanity, and a lofty tone of thought; and is rich in anecdote, affluent in language, accurate in statement, and full of suggestive remarks on all colloquial topics. With one of the finest physical organizations ever given to man, as shown in his portrait, taken in the very prime of his life, and being remarkably temperate in his habits, he bids fair to obtain great longevity. May he long live an ornament to his country, an example of the highest and most genial qualities of manhood, embellished by the blandishments of a gentlemanly demeanor, and dignified by a lofty tone of morals and an uprightness of personal character and habits which not even the tongue of calumny has ever dared to assail.





Whidale

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THERE is one species of ancestral pride which the sternest republicanism, in its most jealous mood, regards with favor. We refer to that spirit which, in Rome, devoted particular families, through many generations, to the republic, and which impelled the second Brutus, after the lapse of centuries, to emulate the glory of the first. The heritage which consists in hoarded examples of lofty patriotism inspires every motive to excellence. Its only privilege is the necessity of extraordinary exertion and superior worth; and, while it borrows from affection, emulation, and pride, the strongest stimulants to virtuous action, it surrounds those who are subject to it by all the influences which enlarge and fortify the moral and intellectual character. Few men, in any country, have been, from birth, association, and education, more exposed to these kindling and patriotic influences than the subject of this brief memoir. His ancestors came to the country with William Penn, and participated in all the privations of the early settlers. Through the long series of contentions between the people of the province and the proprietary government, they were ranged on the side of the people; and when the war of the Revolution broke out, the whole family was distinguished in its zealous and heroic espousal of the cause of independence. Then, as in the late war, the entire family was given to the country, and its members were signalized by their services in the council, in the field, and on the wave. Charles Biddle, the father of Nicholas Biddle, was, throughout the contest, eminent for his active services and firm devotion to the cause; and, at the time of the birth of the latter, was vice-president of the commonwealth, of which Benjamin Franklin was president, and, we believe, John Armstrong, late minister to France, secretary; a fact which sufficiently indicates the high place which he had secured in the confidence and respect of his country. The following passage of a familiar and private letter from Charles Biddle, to be

found in the second volume of Davis' Life of Burr, gives an interesting anecdote of the times, and exhibits the heroism and patriotic devotion which inspired even the females of the family. "I remember." says Charles Biddle, "just before the commencement of the revolutionary war, my mother was disputing with an English officer. He said the Americans, of right, should not go to war; they could do nothing; they could get no person to head them. She replied that the Americans would have no difficulty in finding some person to command their army; that she had seven sons, and, if necessary, would lead them herself to oppose the enemy. Two of her sons fell during the war in the service of the country. I, too, have seven sons whom I would much sooner lead to the field than suffer our country to be insulted." The patriotic aspirations of the father were not disappointed, for he did live to see that when their insulted country called upon his sons, every one of the seven was found at his post.

Edward Biddle, uncle of the subject of this notice, served as a captain in the sanguinary war of 1756. He, too, was among the foremost advocates of independence, and was elected a representative from Pennsylvania to the congress of 1774. He was afterwards speaker of the house of representatives of Pennsylvania; but the decline of his health rendered a residence in the South necessary. and on his way thither, death closed a career honorable to himself and to his country. Nicholas Biddle, another uncle, was a midshipman in the British navy, and accompanied Lord Mulgrave in his expedition to the North Pole. But, with the characteristic spirit of the family, when the revolutionary struggle commenced, he broke through the influence of professional association, and abandoned the brilliant promises of the British service to share the doubtful fortunes of his country. He entered the American navy. and the government, discerning his merit, gave him all that he required—the opportunity to win distinction. His brief career is interwoven with one of the proudest incidents of our history, and while the American navy floats upon the wave will be remembered by the nation with wonder and exultation. While commanding the American frigate Randolph of thirty-two guns, he attacked, in the night, the Yarmouth, a British sixty-four gun ship. He was wounded early in the action, but refusing to go below had a chair placed on the quarter deck, from which, with undaunted spirit, he directed the engagement; when, in the midst of it, from some accident in the magazine of the Randolph herself, she blew up, and all the officers

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and crew, except three men, perished. Nothing could be more glorious than such a life—but such a death.

NICHOLAS BIDDLE, was born at Philadelphia, on the 8th day of January, 1786. He began his education at the academy, whence he was introduced to the University of Pennsylvania, and passing through its successive probations, was about to take his degree in 1799, when his extreme youth, being then only thirteen years of age, occasioned his being sent to Princeton, in New Jersey. He is described by those who knew him at this period, as a thoughtful and severe student and a youth of dauntless and indomitable spirit. A classmate and companion, since a distinguished citizen, says of Mr. B., "I enjoyed an intimacy with him at that time, which gave me full opportunity of forming a judgment of his abilities, and I have a distinct recollection of having made up my mind that he was destined to be a great man."

Young BIDDLE remained at Princeton two years and a half, and graduated in September, 1801. His collegiate course was brilliant almost beyond parallel, and prepared those who witnessed it, comprising several who have since become ornaments of the republic, for the subsequent and loftier triumphs of his intellect. His standing and scholarship are shown by the fact that, though the youngest person, it is understood, that ever graduated before or since that time in the college, he and Mr. Edward Watts of Virginia, a gentleman very much his senior, divided the first honor of the class, the valedictory being assigned to Mr. Biddle.

On leaving college, he commenced the study of the law in Philadelphia. About this time his abilities attracted the attention and excited the admiration of one of the most remarkable judges of human nature which our country has afforded, Colonel Burr, who predicted for him a career of eminent usefulness and honor. In a letter written, on the eve of his meeting with Hamilton, to his son-in-law, Governor Alston, and containing what were supposed to be his last injunctions, the following singular and prophetic passage occurs: "My worthy friend, Charles Biddle of Philadelphia, has six or seven sons—three of them grown up. With different characters and various degrees of intelligence, they will all be men of eminence and of influence."

When the three years of Mr. Biddle's term of study were about to expire, General Armstrong was appointed minister of the United States to France, and offered to take the son of his old friend with him as secretary. He accordingly embarked in the year 1804, and vol. III.—24

spent the three succeeding years in Europe. The period of his residence in France was one of extraordinary interest, not merely from its embracing the career of Napoleon from his coronation, but from the complicated relations between the United States and France. and especially from the examination and payment in detail of the claims of this country on France, which were paid out of the purchase money for Louisiana. This duty devolved almost exclusively upon the young secretary. The payments were made at the French bureau, and Mr. BIDDLE, with untiring assiduity, attended to the disbursement. The officers of the French government are mostly gentlemen of ripe years; Mr. Biddle, then about eighteen, was even more juvenile in appearance than years, and the advent among these grave dignitaries of this youthful depository of so important a trust was viewed with a wonder that was increased when they found him performing his arduous duties with the ability, firmness, and perseverance of a veteran statesman. Notwithstanding the severe labors of his office. Mr. Bipple found time to indulge a liberal curiosity in regard to all the great objects before him, and also to attend the scientific lectures so frequent and accessible in Paris. After leaving the legation he travelled through the greater part of France, through Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Germany, Belgium, and Holland. He then went to England, where he joined the late president Monroe, then American minister in London, with whom he served as secretary, Mr. Monroe's own secretary being absent. During his residence in England, an incident occurred which Mr. Monroe took great pleasure in relating, as an illustration of the ripe scholarship of his youthful secretary and friend. BIDDLE accompanied him to Cambridge, where, in a company at which the most learned gentlemen connected with the university were present, a discussion took place on some philological point arising from the difference between the Greek of Homer and the idiom of the modern Hellenes. Though familiar with the language of Homer. the literati present knew but little of the modern Greek, and the difficulty remained unsolved; when Mr. Biddle, who united to his classic accomplishments a knowledge of the tongue of modern Greece acquired when in that country, joined the conversation and explained the point, exhibiting a knowledge of the subject so pro found and critical, that the learned gentlemen present listened in silent amazement, while Monroe, overjoyed at what he considered a kind of American triumph, with difficulty repressed his exultation and delight.

Mr. Biddle returned home in the autumn of 1807. During his long absence, he had seen much of men and things, and seen them in a way the most profitable. The ordinary routine of what is called travelling, the indiscriminate hurrying after objects of mere curiosity, though pleasant while it lasts, is not often productive of good to young persons. Mr. Biddle had a point of support, an object, an employment, and that employment was in the service of his country. Nothing so effectually subdues the spirit of party and removes the prejudice which confines the anxieties of patriotism to one-half the country, as a residence abroad in a public character; a position that identifies the individual with the whole nation. It is, perhaps, this experience that has given to Mr. Biddle's mind a character so wholly national, for few men have brought into the public councils a spirit more expanded, a patriotism more comprehensive or more free from all tincture of local or sectional feeling.

On his return he commenced the practice of the law. In the fragments of time saved from more severe pursuits, he occasionally relaxed his mind in contributions to the scientific and literary periodicals of the day. His efforts were as diversified as literature itself. and exhibit that elasticity of mind and versatility of genius which have rendered his various subsequent productions so successful. His disquisitions on the Fine Arts, published about this time, displayed a profound knowledge of the subject, and acquired a reputation which no one who now peruses them will consider unmerited. His writings at this period are graceful and polished. Indeed, several of these early efforts have been, and are even now, ascribed to the elegant Dennie; but his articles manifest an originality and vigor, a reach of thought and a variety of acquirement which Dennie did not possess. Their mutual friendship induced them to form a literary partnership for conducting the Port Folio. The death. however, of Mr. Dennie, which occurred soon after the association was formed, removed its principal attraction; but Mr. Biddle continued to conduct it alone for some time, until another editor was procured. Of the merits of the Port Folio, it is unnecessary to speak; it now constitutes a part of the literature of the countrya part that will not be discredited by a comparison with any thing that has since been given to the public. About this period, Lewis and Clarke were preparing for publication the history of their expedition across the continent of America; but the premature death of Lewis induced his companion, Clarke, to solicit Mr. BIDDLE to edit the work. He accordingly went carefully over the materials

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afforded by the notes of the expedition, and received from Mr. Clarke a large mass of additional information, which he worked up, with great skill and ability, furnishing one of the most valuable and pleasant productions of that character which has fallen from the press. He also induced Mr. Jefferson to prepare the memoir of Captain Lewis prefixed to the work. The whole was ready for publication, when Mr. Biddle's public engagements rendered it impossible to attend to its passage through the press, and he therefore transferred the work, with all the compensation stipulated for it, to Mr. Paul Allen. Mr. Allen piloted it through the press, and his name is naturally affixed to it; but as a matter of literary history, it is a subject of curiosity to know that these two octavo volumes, "The Travels of Lewis and Clarke," were written by Mr. Biddle.

The engagements referred to were political. He was chosen one of the representatives of the city of Philadelphia in the state legislature, in which capacity he passed, at Lancaster, the winter of 1810—11. In this new sphere he at once assumed a commanding position, and proved himself a statesman of enlarged views and lofty principles. He manifested, from the start, that which peculiarly distinguishes the patriot statesman from the mere politician—the genius to originate great measures for the advancement of the public interests. The measures brought before the legislature by Mr. BIDDLE have since been made familiar to the public, but they were then new and startling innovations. The statesman who projected them did not light his torch at the blaze of public opinion, but relied upon his own intellect and the hope of illuminating the community. The enterprise demanded a quarter of a century for its consummation; but not the less praise is due to him who, unaided and uncheered, ventured upon the sea. The first measure of this character undertaken by Mr. Biddle was the establishment of a system of popular education. From conviction and feeling an ardent republican, he sought, by the diffusion of popular intelligence, to expand and vindicate the democratic principle. He, therefore, brought the project before the legislature, and labored energetically in its support. He made an elaborate and eloquent report, and introduced a school bill, the basis of which was, not a gratuitous but a very cheap system of public instruction. He urged the scheme with zeal and power; but he was before the age. The state was not prepared for such novelties. The glory of carrying out these principles belongs to the present generation; the school law of 1836 being only the ripe fruit of Mr. BIDDLE's bill of 1811. But those

who rejoice most in their triumph will accord to Nicholas Biddle the credit of being the father of the system of popular instruction in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Biddle's attention was also directed to the commencement of a vigorous system of internal improvement.

But a measure of more general interest, and which occupied the attention of the union at large, drew upon the vouthful statesman the eyes of the whole nation. The charter of the bank of the United States expired in 1811; and the question of its recharter was then agitated with as much violence as the same subject has, in later days, excited. Among the modes of opposition practised by the enemies of the bank, one was to procure instructions from the legislature to the members of congress from Pennsylvania to vote against the recharter. A resolution of this character was introduced, and it was in opposition to that resolution that Mr. Biddle made his first speech. The speech produced a great sensation at the time, and established the reputation of its author. It is remarkable not only for its power and the soundness of its general principles, but from the strange coincidence that he should begin his career by a prophetic warning of the evil consequences of the destruction of the bank; that those evils should have actually occurred; that the listeners to that warning, convinced by melancholy experience of their error, should, when afterwards transferred to Washington, have been the chief promoters of the charter of a new bank; and, finally, that this very youth should become the head of that bank, and in that capacity, vindicating his early positions, should acquire for himself and the institution a credit throughout the commercial world, of which the history of the country furnishes no parallel. It is no less remarkable that although the question was then wholly new, not having vet been discussed in congress or elsewhere, the speech of Mr. Biddle embodies, in a condensed form, almost every thing—the leading principles and general facts—which has been since developed in the multitudinous discussions that have succeeded. The speech itself elicited universal applause, and received, what is more valuable than any general praise, the most decided eulogium from the late Chief Justice Marshall. It was circulated generally, and eagerly read, and did much to extend and establish the reputa. tion of its author in all sections of the union.

At the close of the session he declined a reëlection, and retired from public life, dividing his time between his studies, which were always pursued with the most vigorous diligence, and agriculture,

or which he has manifested, throughout life, a decided predilection. These pursuits were, however, soon interrupted by the events of the war, which summoned into action the best spirits of the nation. In the year 1814, the situation of the country was extremely critical. The capitol had been destroyed, the whole south was menaced by a flushed and insolent foe, the finances were in extreme disorder, and every thing indicated despondency and distress. These were not times when a Biddle could enjoy retirement and inaction. He was elected to represent the city and county of Philadelphia in the senate of Pennsylvania, by a vote considerably beyond that of any party for the legislature or congress. Of the spirit which he carried into the public councils, some idea may be formed from the fact. that of the seven brothers composing his family, one was an officer in the navy, (Commodore James Biddle,) two were in the regular army, and three were volunteers in active service in the militia, while he, the seventh, was in the senate. As soon as it was apparent that no reliance could be placed on congress, he came forward in the senate with his own plans of defence. "It is now," said he, "nearly four months since the eyes of this nation have anxiously watched the movements of congress. They found the capitol in ruins—the finances prostrate—the army, in every thing but its honor, a shadow-the whole coast menaced with invasion-no hopes of peace but by the sword. These things might have kindled into energy the dullest statesman; yet day after day has been wasted in frivolous debate or bitter controversies-and now neither men nor money, nor preparations for defence, nor means of carrying on the war, seem to be expected from that congress which was convened for the express purpose of providing them. It is time, therefore, for Pennsylvania to defend herself, to indulge no longer in this fatal confidence, but at once look all our dangers in the face and prepare to repel them."

He then presented a system which consisted of a bounty for sailors to man the floating batteries for the defence of Philadelphia, the purchase of arms, the levy of a permanent military force of eight thousand men, and a loan on the credit of the state to defray the expense of these measures. All these provisions were adopted by the senate; but, in the house of representatives, the army bill was lost from a difference of opinion as to the mode of raising the necessary force. It was immediately revived in the senate, and that body was actually engaged in discussing it, when the debate was sud denly terminated by the arrival of the glad tidings that the war was

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at an end. All the measures for the defence of Pennsylvania were proposed by Mr. Biddle; and those who witnessed the crisis will not forget the patriotic energy with which he met the emergency.

The return of peace left to the legislature only one duty to the other states, that of quieting the political distractions which had grown out of the war. In the midst of that conflict, the New England states, chafed by what they deemed wrongs to their peculiar interests, met in convention at Hartford and proposed to all the other states radical changes in the constitution of the union. This abandonment of their own work, this declaration of the weakness and insufficiency of that constitution which these New England states had been the foremost to adopt, was of such evil example, that it was justly deemed of great importance to counteract its influence. The other states had given cold or contumelious negatives to this proposal, calculated only to harden the prejudices they could not subdue. It was thought far better to address the reason of the country, to interpose between the combatants the quiet energy of Pennsylvania, which had no object to gain but the general good of the union, and endeavor to satisfy the country that the constitution was not the weak and impotent federation which these reformers pronounced it, but that it was a just and generous compact which could be only injured by the proposed attempts to improve it. For this purpose Mr. BIDDLE prepared, and the legislature adopted, a report which was considered as the answer of Pennsylvania to the Hartford convention. This production was worthy the occasion and the exalted purpose for which it was intended. It bears the impress of genius, and stamps its author as a statesman. The report did not fail to produce a deep impression not only in this country but abroad, as being not merely a refutation of the proposed amendments, but a thorough and masterly vindication of the institutions of the United States. One of the most distinguished political writers of England said of it on its first appearance: "With the exception of the poems of Pope, I never read any thing of which I should so much like to have been the author as this answer of the state of Pennsylvania. Let any man read this paper penned in one of the state legislatures of America, and when he has compared it with the state papers of our ambassadors and ministers, let him say whether aristocracy has reserved itself a monopoly of talent." Mr. BIDDLE's report unquestionably does honor to his native state, and may be regarded as one of the very best state papers which the political controversies of our country have elicited. Even at this day, it may

be read with profit and interest, as presenting views of public policy applicable to many of the political questions now agitating us.

In the year 1817, Mr. Biddle, after a legislative career which exhibited a brilliant genius joined with an ardent devotion to the public good, and which secured him the confidence of all parties, voluntarily retired from the senate before the expiration of his term of service, and resumed his private pursuits. He now devoted himself with uninterrupted ardor to the studies from which his public duties had partially alienated him. Despising the arts by which demagogues urge themselves upon a reluctant people, he rather shunned than courted political distinction. His distinguished merit, however, could not be overlooked, and at the succeeding election, 1818, he was nominated to represent the city and county of Philadelphia in congress; but the democratic party, of which he was a candidate, was then in a minority, and although he received a larger number of votes than any other candidate on the same ticket, the adverse party prevailed. At the next congressional election in 1820, he was again nominated, by the same political party, but with the same result, Mr. B. again receiving a larger vote than any of

his colleagues on the same ticket.

In the year 1819, he first became connected with the bank of the United States, an incident which contributed to give a direction to his subsequent career, and secured to the country the aid of his extraordinary abilities in the important field of finance. The institution was at that time justly considered in great jeopardy. Its affairs had been investigated by a committee of congress, and the report of that committee tended to inspire distrust and apprehension. add to these difficulties, its president had resigned; and the position and prospects of the bank became so critical, that the most vigorous exertions were deemed necessary to revive the public confidence For this purpose, president Monroe, without the knowledge of Mr. BIDDLE, nominated him as a director of the bank on the part of the United States. This mark of confidence was not only unexpected, but unwelcome to Mr. B., for he had previously declined being a director on the part of the stockholders; but thus summoned, by the national executive, to what had become a serious and important trust, he did not feel himself at liberty to decline the task. He accordingly took his place in the bank at the same time that Mr. Langdon Cheves, who had been previously elected president, assumed the duties of his station. In conjunction with that gentleman he labored with great industry in arranging the affairs and esta

blishing the character of the institution, and, having no special employment at the time, was enabled to turn into that channel the almost undivided energies of his mind.

An active intellect, however, has, even amid the most engrossing labors, leisure for incidental duties. Mr. Biddle's energetic habits enabled him, at the request of Mr. Monroe, to undertake and accomplish a work for which his varied acquirements peculiarly qualified him. By a resolution of congress, the department of state was authorized to collect the laws and regulations of all foreign countries relative to commerce, moneys, weights, and measures, and the various objects connected with trade. The duty was committed by the president to Mr. Biddle, who analyzed and digested, with great ability, a large mass of crude materials in various languages, into an octavo volume entitled "Commercial Digest."

In the year 1821, he removed permanently to his farm in Bucks county. While residing there, the resignation of Mr. Cheves as president of the United States Bank occasioned a general convention at Philadelphia of all the stockholders of the bank throughout the United States. The selection of a successor was regarded as a matter of great delicacy and importance, not merely in relation to the interests of the institution itself, but from its influence upon the credit and commercial prosperity of the country at large. The subject was, therefore, anxiously canvassed as well in the public prints as among the stockholders. The station called for commanding abilities, a genius practical, fertile in resources, profoundly skilled in finance, and versed in all the comprehensive and diversified interests connected with trade. Public opinion pointed to Mr. BIDDLE as preëminently fitted for the arduous and momentous trust, and he was accordingly invited to accept the presidency. The result elicited general applause, and the government manifested its approbation of the choice by appointing Mr. B. a director on the part of the United States. He entered upon the duties of the office in January, 1823. His previous service of three years in the bank had made him familiar with its concerns, and had given him some peculiar views of its administration, which he now proceeded gradually and cautiously to develope. The details of this subject belong to history, and cannot, of course, be given in the present brief and hurried notice; but the general purpose of the change of system may be made intelligible in a few words. By the charter of the bank, all its notes were made receivable in all payments to the government. It was objected that as these notes were payable in so many

places, provision must be made to pay them in those places, so that a greater amount of specie must be kept in reserve than the amount of notes in circulation. Application was made to congress to alter the charter so as to make the notes payable only where they were issued, and it was declared by the bank to congress, that unless the change were made, the bank would be not only useless but injurious. With this view of the subject, there could, of course, be no general circulation of its notes, no regulation of the domestic exchanges—the whole amount of notes on the first of January, 1823, being about three and a half millions of dollars, and the amount of domestic bills on hand less than two millions of dollars.

With these opinions Mr. BIDDLE did not at all concur. He thought that the universal receivability of the notes, so far from being injurious, was highly beneficial to the bank and to the country; and that here was no danger of issuing the notes, if the branches issuing them were careful to provide funds for their redemption at the points to which the well known course of trade would necessarily carry them. He considered this very provision beneficial in another point of view; he believed that it would enable the bank, by the policy just mentioned, to regulate the domestic exchanges and effect the great object of its creation. Having matured the project in his own mind, he proceeded to carry it out. Years of patient and anxious labor, directed by the most vigilant sagacity, were necessary to bring all the parts of this original and admirable system into full action. That consummation was, however, at last attained, when, as in 1835, there had been established nine new branches, making the whole consist of the bank at Philadelphia and twenty-five branches; sustaining a wholesome circulation of twenty-four millions, based on twenty-four millions of current bills of exchange, with fifteen or sixteen millions of specie.

The change thus gradually and quietly effected, was regarded throughout the world as one of the miracles of genius. It brightened the aspect of the whole country, and inspired health and animation in all the various pursuits of trade and industry. The effect of Mr. Biddle's system is thus explained by the report of the committee of ways and means of the house of representatives: "It may be confidently asserted that no country in the world has a currency of greater uniformity than the United States, and that no country of any thing like the same geographical extent, has a currency at all comparable to that of the United States on the score of uniformity;" and again: "It has actually furnished a circulating medium more

uniform than specie." The committee of finance of the senate characterized with equal force the success of Mr. Biddle's administration. "This seems to present a state of currency approaching as near to perfection as could be desired;" and again; "It is not easy to imagine, it is scarcely necessary to desire, any currency better than this."

During the whole of this period, the bank was an object of universal and deserved popularity. Applications were constantly made for the establishment of its branches in every section of the country. The institution was in perfect harmony with the administrations of Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams, and pursued its noiseless career of usefulness, praised and cherished by all classes and parties. Perhaps not an individual in the country dreamed that it would or could be made the subject of opposition.

It was during this career that General Jackson came into power. One of the first measures of his administration was believed to be an effort to connect the bank with his political support. attempt was full of danger to the country, and had the administration of the bank been in feeble or corrupt hands would doubtless have succeeded. It was, however, immediately and decisively repelled: but from that moment a war was waged against the institution, which in intense exasperation can scarcely find a parallel in the history of civil dissension. Our limits will not permit us even to refer to the details of that interesting struggle; our present purpose is to exhibit its effect upon the character of the president of the bank. The position and popularity of the high functionary who decreed the downfall of the institution were certainly formida ble; but it was in the hands of one adequate to any emergency Mr. Biddle owed it to his country and to the institution over which he presided to uphold it, and he did so; not passively or with indecision, but with determined and active vigor. He manifested throughout the series of extraordinary events which succeeded, a firmness that never was shaken and a calmness that nothing could ruffle. His skilful pilotage of the institution through that storm displayed a mind rich in all that the crisis demanded; composed, but ardent; prompt, but profound; a genius so bold and comprehensive, a knowledge so vast, an experience so complete, a fertility of resources so ready and inexhaustible, that we cannot be surprised at the admiration which it everywhere inspired. The odds were all against him in the contest, yet he was never found wanting, and never placed in the wrong. His course won the applause of the

first spirits of the age in this country and Europe, and secured him the confidence and gratitude not only of his constituents of the bank, but of the business community at large.

On the removal of the deposits, and at every subsequent act of hostility, it was exultingly proclaimed, that the ruin of the bank was at length accomplished; yet, to the last hour of its chartered existence, it maintained a credit coëxtensive with the commercial world, and a prosperity that was tested, not shaken by assaults. "At this moment," said Mr. Edward Everett, in a report to the house of representatives, "notwithstanding the fearful warfare waged against them, their credit is as good at London and in Paris, as that of the Bank of England or France. At this moment, in the remotest east, in the markets of China, where the silver coin of the country from the public mint is undervalued, the paper of the Bank of the United States is an acceptable currency." The finance committee of the United States Senate thus stated facts which did not admit of denial: "The efforts continually made to excite doubts and suspicions in the public mind as to the entire solvency of the bank; the concerted run made against the Lexington branch in 1832; the constant agitation of the public mind for some months anterior to the 1st of October, 1832; the actual withdrawal of the public moneys from the custody of the institution; the uncertainty which has since involved measures which the executive might adopt against it; the declaration of Mr. Duane that the administrative department was actuated, in all its measures towards it, by a spirit of 'vindictiveness;' and the circumstances of the times: it may be said, with every confidence, in the truth of the declaration, that tests of the most severe and of every conceivable kind have been applied to ascertain its solvency. Whether any other moneyed corporation in the world could have stood up against trials so severe, is in the highest degree questionable. How deeply rooted, then, must be the public confidence in the solvency of the United States Bank, and in the skill with which its affairs have been conducted, when the doubts and suspicions of the government itself, a partner in the concern, followed up by the most hostile action, has not only not shaken the confidence of the public in its responsibility, but when its notes are now as eagerly sought after as at any former period of its existence."

A credit thus universal, maintained under circumstances so unprecedented, with a currency and exchanges in soundness and equal value never any where exceeded, were proofs of ability that raised Mr. Biddle's reputation to the very summit of financial renown. Ex-

tolled as almost infallible by one political party, assailed by the other with a zeal that equally contributed to his celebrity—the limits of his own country did not confine his fame; and abroad, as well as at home, he was hailed as the most sagacious and successful banker of the world. But the useful career of the institution over which he had so long presided, was drawing to a close. A bill for its recharter passed both houses of congress by a large majority, but was vetoed by the president, General Jackson. The charter expired, therefore, according to its limitation, on the 3d day of March, 1836.

It has sometimes been asserted that the bill for the recharter of the bank would have met a different reception from the president, if it had been presented to his consideration at a later period of his term of office: but, certainly, the warmest supporters of the bank did not entertain that belief, nor do we find anything to countenance it in the character or recorded opinions of General Jackson. Before his inauguration, he had announced the destruction of the Bank of the United States, as one of the intended measures of his administration. "His intention," says Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, in his Historical Sketch, "was to proclaim his determination in his inaugural address; but from that he was dissuaded by friends, who convinced him that, inasmuch as the bank charter was a legislative act, his first notice of it ought to be in a message to congress." Accordingly, in his first message, in 1829, the subject was introduced, with the declaration "that it could not too soon be presented to their deliberation." It was again brought forward in the successive messages of 1830 and 1831, coupled always with the most unequivocal expression of his own hostility. It is therefore difficult to find any ground for the assertion, that the friends of the bank precipitated the contest in 1832, or that any delay would have mitigated or avoided it; while the certainty of a majority in congress in favor of the recharter, and the possibility of two-thirds in case of a veto; the general belief that a democratic president would not exercise this power in opposition to the express will of the representatives of the people, vindicate the application for recharter as seasonable, and subsequent events amply proved that it never would have been more fortunate.

Until the time when General Jackson drew the bank into the arena of political controversy, it had been the sedulous and successful effort of Mr. Biddle to keep the institution entirely clear from political associations, and free from any subserviency to party purposes. The officers of the bank and its branches, while left, of course, to the free enjoyment of their rights as citizens, were strictly restrained from

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adding any official weight to their personal predilections. No party test was ever recognized as a qualification for employment in the bank, and when, in 1829, Mr. Biddle refused, at the demand of the friends of General Jackson, to remove Jeremiah Mason, an upright and competent officer of the branch in New Hampshire, it was in accordance with a uniform rule of action, which he had maintained in 1824, in opposition to the intimated wish of his personal and political friend, Mr. Monroe.

Ending here this brief and inadequate notice of the last bank of the United States, in continuing the personal history of the subject of this memoir, we must now advert to his subsequent connection with another institution, like the first in name, but unlike in the origin and nature of its powers, and still more unlike in the issue in which their exercise resulted. This ill-fated institution was created by an act of the legislature of Pennsylvania, approved the 18th day of February, 1836, entitled "An act to repeal the state tax on real and personal property, and to continue and extend the improvements of the state by rail roads and canals, and to charter a State Bank, to be called the United States Bank." The motives and circumstances which induced this act of legislation are easily traced. The location of the parent bank of the United States in Philadelphia, had long been the subject of state pride; the feeling was similar to, but far more intense than that which now resists the removal of the United States Mint from the city. The renewal of the charter by the Federal government had been urged by the legislature, and advocated by the most distinguished citizens of the state, without distinction of party. In 1832, resolutions in its favor passed the state senate unanimously, and the house of representatives by a vote of seventy-seven to seven. As the time approached, when the millions invested in the bank by the citizens of other states and foreign countries, were about to be withdrawn, an ardent, an almost feverish desire inflamed the public mind, to grasp a supposed advantage in retaining this capital within the state.

By the legislature, in one branch of which the democratic party was largely in the majority, a charter was tendered to the stockholders of the expiring Bank of the United States. "Almost every body seemed in favor of it," said a senator, afterwards examined upon the subject, under oath. Such opposition as party allegiance could enforce was made to the bill, but, as is so often the case in legislative bodies, the object of most of the opponents was to range themselves in a harmless minority, exhibiting a show of resistance to what they had no desire to defeat.

To the head of the new institution Mr. BIDDLE was summoned by the

universal and importunate call of those whose interests were involved in its success. His own wish, publicly expressed, had been to withdraw from the arduous duties which had affected his health, and entirely engrossed his time and faculties. He had reaped all the fame that could be gathered in that field; other pursuits—perhaps more congenial—were open to him; his private means, by inheritance and marriage, far exceeded his moderate wishes: it was well known, in the circle of his friends, that what he most desired was a fit opportunity to retire. But, in the opinion of others, that fit opportunity had not yet arrived; the skill of "the pilot who had weathered the storm," in the direction of the old bank, was necessary to the auspicious inauguration of the new; yielding to these considerations, Mr. BIDDLE accepted the presidency. Nor, to a mind like his, was it without attraction. He was of that large mould, that has room for great aims and strong affections. A master feeling of his nature was a deep love for his native state; what South Carolina was to Calhoun, what Massachusetts was to Webster, Pennsylvania was to Nicholas BIDDLE—and in the new bank he, and most men, thought they saw an engine that was to raise the state to the highest pinnacle of wealth and power; and while large and lasting triumphs were thus anticipated, the institution was, even by the less sanguine, regarded as the sole protection of the state from the dwarfing influences attendant upon a removal of the financial centre of the country to another city. He continued to hold the office until March, 1839, when he effected his intention of resigning it. It was made to appear very clearly, in subsequent discussions, that the time chosen by him for his withdrawal was, in the opinion of the directors, the stockholders, the public and of himself, a period of entire prosperity. He had borne the bank safely through the monetary convulsion of 1837; the suspension of specie payments in that year, commenced by the deposit banks of the government in New York, had not impaired the credit of the banks of Pennsylvania, and the resumption in 1838, at the time dictated by Mr. Biddle, with great firmness and sagacity, had every guaranty of permanence. The warfare waged by the most formidable antagonist was over; the bank had again become, in effect, if not in name, to a very considerable extent the fiscal agent of the government. Millions of the public money were on deposit in its vaults, disbursements were made by it for the treasury throughout the Union, and a circular from the paymaster general, issued under the authority of a democratic secretary of war, in the following explicit language recognized the fact, that the notes of the bank were often preferable to specie.

CIRCULAR.

"PAYMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE, Washington, October 8, 1838.

" SIR,

"Arrangements having been made with the United States Bank to pay the treasurer's drafts for a certain amount at different places, and it being probable the notes of the bank will be as acceptable to claimants, and in some cases more convenient than specie, you will, should you receive drafts on that bank or its agents, make as many of your payments by check as you can, which will give the receiver the option of taking paper or specie; and the department has no objection to your using the paper of that bank in all your payments, so far as it can be done legally.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"N. TOWSON,
"P. M. G."

Under these favorable circumstances, the stock of the bank at the time of Mr. Biddle's retirement was selling at \$116 a share, and the directors in a complimentary communication assured him that he left the institution "entirely prosperous." But two years elapsed, however, before the bank ceased its operations, assigned its assets, and was declared to be insolvent. Our limits do not permit us to attempt any elaborate discussion of the causes which induced so disastrous a result. Some of them were general, affecting the whole country, and some were particular to the institution itself. The "State Bank, called the United States Bank," began and ended its career in a period of general expansion, overtrading, and overbanking. When the destruction of the Bank of the United States was decreed, it was a system of state banks, not a specie currency, that was put forward as the efficient substitute. To the state banks the public treasure was confided, and they were made the subjects of continued favor and laudation from the president in his messages, the secretary of the treasury in his reports, and the party presses that echoed the sentiments of the party leaders. The Globe, the official organ at Washington, teemed with appeals to the state legislatures to create more banks, and any tardiness in compliance was charged—as every thing, almost, in those days was charged—to the malign influence of "Biddle and the United States Bank." "The state banks," said General Jackson, "are found fully adequate to the performance of all services required of the Bank of the United States, quite as promptly and with the same cheapness." "By the use of the state banks," he repeats in a subsequent message, "it is ascertained that the moneys of the United States can be collected and disbursed without loss or inconvenience, and that all the wants of the community in relation to exchange and currency are supplied as well as they have ever been before." Further experience awakened General Jackson from this

delusion, and then his anathema against state banks was as violent as any he had ever fulminated against the Bank of the United States. But it was too late; the mischief was already done. Under such vioorous stimulus, the number of banks had been more than doubled; the amount of what was termed "banking capital" more than trebled: the notes of banks in circulation rose from 61,000,000 to 185,000,000 of dollars; loans and discounts were increased proportionally. The restraining influence once exercised by the Bank of the United States was scoffed at as an odious and obsolete oppression; and President Jackson, in an annual message, congratulated the state banks on the extinction of their former "enemy." State governments, too, caught the general contagion, and issued bonds, contracted debts, and entered upon vast schemes of lavish expenditure. In vain were warning voices raised. Daniel Webster declared in the senate. "We are in danger of being overwhelmed with irredeemable paper, mere paper, not representing gold and silver; no, representing nothing but broken promises, bad faith, bankrupt corporations, cheated creditors, and a ruined people." Henry Clay predicted, that "There being no longer any sentinel at the head of our banking establishments to warn them by its information and operation of approaching danger, the local institutions, already multiplied to an alarming extent, and almost daily multiplying, in seasons of prosperity will make free and unrestrained emissions. . . . Inordinate speculation will ensue, debts will be freely contracted, and the explosion of the whole banking system will be the ultimate effect." We recur, now, to these events, and the authors of them, not in a captious spirit of censure, but in justice to one upon whom it was afterwards sought to charge the consequences of a system which he always combatted, against which he openly protested,—the very opposite of that established and perfected by his efforts, under which the country so long enjoyed a sound and uniform currency, based upon, and always convertible into gold and silver.

In the perilous condition of things, to which we have adverted, the United States Bank of Pennsylvania had even more danger to encounter than other state institutions. Its unwieldy capital was forced to seek investment in every part of the country—in stocks, loans, bonds, and like securities, which, when the crash came, went down, and carried the bank down with them. Whether its fate could have been averted by Mr. Biddle, if he had continued in the direction of its affairs, we do not undertake to decide. He had never been found unequal to any crisis; and his tact, and skill, and fertility in resources, might have warded off some of the blows that proved most fatal. Assuredly,

under his administration, no neglect of the routine of business would ever have shaken the credit of the bank abroad—no want of resolution would ever have precipitated its measures at home. That his efforts would have availed in the later, as they had in the former trials of the bank, can neither be certainly asserted or denied. Speculation upon what might have happened, if events had been other than they were, is mostly very fruitless. When the "general explosion" came—as Henry Clay and others foretold it would come-in the distress, and consequent exasperation, which ensued, it was easier, perhaps more natural, to immolate an individual, than to trace effects to their original causes. It fell to the lot of Nicholas Biddle—the foremost man of all in the public mind, in association with banks and banking-to be the expiatory victim. Men who fully shared in any errors into which he had fallen, strove to avert responsibility from themselves by heaping it upon him. A general storm of malignant persecution was directed against one man, broken in health and fortune, and deserted by the summer friends who had basked in the sunshine of his prosperity. Mr. BIDDLE faced his assailants, with the firmness and composure that strongly marked his character. Shrinking from no investigation, deprecating no assault, he gave his vindication to the world in a series of letters which, as specimens of controversial writing, have never been surpassed; and then he waited, without fear, for time to do him justice. Time will not fail him: and even now, whenever Pennsylvanians meet together to further the progress of education, the advancement of the useful arts, the improvement of their native state,—the name of Nicholas Biddle, by a natural association, rises to the lips, and its utterance is the best tribute to his memory.

"Sir," said General Packer, a leading democrat of Pennsylvania, in a recent speech in favor of connecting the seaboard with the lakes, "Sir, this was the favorite project of the late Nicholas Biddle; and whatever may be said of him as a politician or a financier, all agree that on questions of internal improvement and commerce he was one of the most sagacious and far-seeing statesmen of this Union. His fault was, if fault it be, that he was twenty years in advance of the age in which he lived. His towering mind enabled him, afar off, to

'See the tops of distant thoughts,
That men of common stature could not see.'

Had he lived, and maintained the strong hold which he once had on the affections of Philadelphia, that city would long since have been placed, in relation to the trade I have attempted to describe, where

New York and Boston now are." But he who waits for time to do him justice should be long lived, and the days of Nicholas Biddle were already numbered. In the very height of the crusade against him, a fatal disease developed itself in his system. A train of symptoms told that the heart was the seat of a serious disorder, upon which, in its later stages, dropsy supervened. His physicians prescribed an immediate removal to another climate—meaning, doubtless, a removal from the scene of trial and excitement—under penalty of death. To his principal adviser, he replied, simply, but with a pathos that moved one not of the melting mood, "I will die here." He abstained from no duty or engagement; wrote, spoke in public, did not claim the privilege or bear the port of an invalid. His letters on the state debt, written upon the non-payment of the interest, were full of wise suggestions. and of stirring appeals that found an echo in the breast of every true son of Pennsylvania. In all public events he took an unabated interest. In a letter lately published, ex-president Tyler says, in speaking of the annexation of Texas, "I was myself sustained and encouraged by the opinions of other distinguished citizens, among whom I take pleasure in mentioning the name of one who once would have commanded the respect, if not the confidence of thousands, but who at the time rested under a cloud, and spoke to me from the shades of Andalusia—I mean the late Nicholas Biddle, with whom I differed so widely on the subject of the Bank of the United States. His bright and accomplished mind did not fail to embrace in its full extent the value of the virtual monopoly of the cotton plant, secured to the United States by the acquisition of Texas." But the sword wore out the sheath. From the nature of Mr. Biddle's malady, death impended every moment. On the evening of the 26th of February, 1844, he for the first time, we have been told by a member of his family, alluded to the expectation which he entertained of a speedy dissolution. The same night a suffusion took place of the vital organ, and he instantly expired. His death occured at Andalusia, a country seat upon the river Delaware, a part of the patrimonial inheritance of his lady, which had long been the scene of the agricultural pursuits and liberal studies which formed the relaxation of his busy life. He was interred in the burial ground of Christ church, and there crowded to his funeral all that Philadelphia could assemble of men distinguished by place or character. The papers of the day record that, in numbers and in mournful interest, the funeral procession exceeded any that had been seen, since that of the venerated patriarch, Bishop White.

The reaction then begun, has not ceased; nor will it, till the name

of Nicholas Biddle is inscribed high on the list of those who have best loved and served their country.

We shall here close what concerns the public career of Mr. BIDDLE, and, having already transcended our limits, will add only a few words touching those miscellaneous particulars which may interest our readers.

His laborious and engrossing avocations did not prevent him from engaging in other duties, which he found, we can scarcely imagine how, time to fulfil. No measure for the advancement of learning and the arts, no scheme for the public good, no effort of patriotism or humanity, wanted his generous and hearty support. He was an active member of a great number of societies for benevolent and useful purposes. As president of the Agricultural Society of Philadelphia he, by his zeal, practical knowledge, and high example, did much to promote the farming interests of the state. He was himself a successful agriculturist; and the products of his farm in market, as well as the horticultural exhibitions at the city, were for years, objects of curiosity and commendation. As president of the Girard College, his exertions manifested an intense interest in the cause of popular instruction, and contributed mainly to the organization of that noble institution upon safe and expanded principles. To his efforts the country owes one of the most beautiful structures of modern times—the Girard College. Mr. Biddle, in the spirit of Pericles, determined that it should be built for posterity. He proposed the present plan, and, in the midst of wild political excitement and opposition, persisted firmly, and secured a building which every citizen now not only approves but applauds. While on this subject we may add, that the building which next to Girard College is perhaps the noblest triumph of architecture in the land, the United States Bank, was also erected under the superintendence of Mr. Biddle, as chairman of the building committee of that institution.

In the course of his career, Mr. Biddle, on various occasions, appeared before the public as a writer. Though his compositions, with the exception of some juvenile efforts, were extorted from him amid the clash and bustle of laborious and often momentous duties, yet they are such as to inspire a sentiment of regret that he had not been devoted to literature alone. His speeches in the legislature were reprinted and praised in all parts of the Union. His eulogium on Thomas Jefferson, delivered before the Philosophical Society, of which he was a member, is considered the best pronounced on that occasion, though the subject engaged the first intellects of the country. The addresses

on agriculture, delivered by him before the Agricultural Society, unite practical instruction with classic learning and eloquence. His address before the Alumni Association of Nassau Hall is of a still higher order of merit. It points out the public duties of an American, and never were the privileges and responsibilities of a freeman more vividly portrayed. His own lofty and unshackled nature breathes and burns in every period. He enjoins with earnest and kindling eloquence, the learning, labor, and elevation of spirit which honest public life requires, and holds up to scorn the unworthy parasites of the populace. After referring to the patriots of other ages and countries, he says: "Trained by these studies and animated by the habitual contemplation of those who have gone before you, as a true American statesman, you may lay your hand on your country's altar. From that hour, swerved by no sinister purpose, swayed by no selfish motive, your whole heart must be devoted to her happiness and her glory. No country could be worthier a statesman's care. On none has nature lavished more of the materials of happiness and of greatness; as fatal if they are misdirected, as they must be glorious when rightly used. On the American statesman, then, devolves the solemn charge of sustaining its institutions against temporary excesses, either of the people or their rulers; and protecting them from their greatest foes, which will always lie in their own bosom. You can accomplish this only by persevering in your own independence—by doing your duty fearlessly to the country. If you fail to please her, do not the less serve her, for she is not the less your country." Were all our statesmen guided by the following high and heroic principles, our republic would be immortal: "Never let any action of your life be influenced by the desire of obtaining popular applause at the expense of your own sincere and manly convictions. No favor from any sovereign, a single individual, or thirteen millions, can console you for the loss of your own esteem. If they are offended, trust to their returning reason to do you justice, and should that hope fail, where you cannot serve with honor you can retire with dignity. You did not seek power, and you can readily leave it, since you are qualified for retirement, and since you carry into it the proud consolation of having done your duty." Mr. BIDDLE's style was formed on the purest models. He cultivated with great success the power of saying the most things in the fewest words. Condensation, point, and originality, are his peculiarities. His thoughts do not struggle in a deluge of words, and are not expressed in the swollen diction which he has felicitously characterized as "our western orientalism." His manner, however, is not only classic in its simplicity,

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it is breathing and quick with life; his sentences are exquisitely turned, and modulated with a delicate perception of melody.

Though Mr. Biddle, when in public life, won distinction as a speaker, his pursuits for many years withdrew him from the forum. He was, however, called upon, on various occasions, to address large and enlightened audiences, and always with signal success. His elocution was exceedingly graceful and polished. He was free from the extravagances of American oratory, and furnishes a model of strength without violence, and grace devoid of affectation. His diction was fluent, choice, and fervid, and his general style bold and effective. He was, throughout his career, even when most burthened with business, a close student, and preserved, amid all the trials of a workingday life, his early fondness for literature and the fine arts. His manners were easy and polished. His refined taste and accomplished scholarship made him the centre and ornament of the literary circles of the city of his birth; and the fervid kindness of his nature secured the friendship of those whose admiration was first excited by the elegance of his wit and the charms of his social intercourse.

Mr. Biddle was somewhat above the middle stature; his forehead was remarkably high and ample; his eyes were blue and piercing. His countenance did not wear the ascetic cast generally contracted by long-continued and severe mental exertion, but was frank and cheerful, expressive of amiable and generous feeling. There are still extant many busts and paintings of him, of various degrees of merit. The portrait by Rembrandt Peale, from which is taken the engraving prefixed to this notice, is preferred: we would consider ourselves fortunate could we portray with equal fidelity the features of his mind.

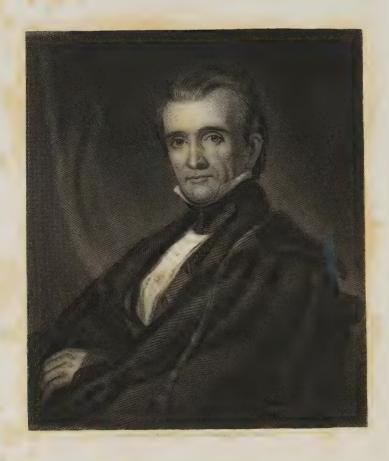
Mr. BIDDLE was married in 1811, to Miss Jane Craig, a lady whose noble qualities made her the ornament of his prosperous, and the consolation of his declining fortunes. She and six children survive him.

The appeal of the subject of this memoir from the hasty and passionate judgment of the hour, to the calmer verdict of later times, has not been made in vain. Retrace the course of his whole life,

"And judge him by no more than what you know, Ingenuously, and by the right laid line Of truth, he truly will all styles deserve Of wise, just, good; a man both soul and nerve."

R. T. CONRAD.





Sames of Jalk o





North Carolina was founded chiefly by Covenanters from Scotland, and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, all of whom left their country for "conscience sake." We cannot, therefore, be surprised that in that state the seeds of independence were early sown; nor do we wonder that its sons claim to be the first who declared their freedom from all obligations to obey the government of Great Britain.

Among the leading men in the Revolution, were the now widely extended family of *Polk*, originally *Pollock*. They are said to have been the first Democratic family of note in the country, and one of them was the prime mover, and a signer of the celebrated "Mecklenburg Declaration" of May 20, 1775. This was the great uncle of the President.

Samuel, the father of James Knox Polk, was an enterprising farmer. He was throughout life a firm Democrat, and a warm supporter of Mr. Jefferson. Thrown upon his own resources in early life, he became the architect of his own fortune, and in the year 1806, he removed with his family of ten children, from North Carolina to Tennessee, where he was among the pioneers of the fertile valley of the Duck river, now one of the most flourishing and populous portions of the State. He was followed by the Polk family, with the exception of one branch, and they added character to that portion of the great valley of the Mississippi.

James Knox, who was named after the worthy father of his mother, was the oldest of the ten children of his father. He was born in Mecklenburg County, N. C., November 2, 1795. Removing, as we have seen he did, in very early life to Tennessee, it could be no matter of surprise that his early education was very limited. The opportunities for instruction furnished in an infant settlement were few, besides which he was no stranger to daily labor. He assisted his father in the management of his farm, and was his almost constant companion in his surveying excursions. They were frequently absent for weeks

together, treading the dense forests, and traversing the rough canebrakes which then covered the face of the country, and were exposed to all the hardships of a life in the woods. Here James resided till elected to the presidential chair of this great country.

When but a lad, notwithstanding all his disadvantages, the greatest f them a painful disease, from which after years of suffering, he was finally relieved by a surgical operation, he acquired the elements of a good English education. He was even then strongly inclined to study, and often employed himself in mathematical calculations. All the elements of his future character might then have been traced. To obtain a liberal education was his chief desire, and a profession was the great end at which he aimed. His habits, formed by the moulding hand of his exemplary mother, peculiarly fitted him for success in the sphere toward which his thoughts were directed, and on which his hopes were fixed. He was correct, punctual, industrious, persevering, and, in a word,—ambitious.

The health of the future President having so greatly failed, his father, fearing the evil effects of confinement to study, determined, though greatly against the will of the son, to place him under the care of a merchant, with a view to commercial life. He remained in this situation, however, but a few weeks, for he found means to change the mind of his father, who in July, 1813, consented that he should study under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Henderson, and subsequently at the Academy of Murfreesborough, Tenn., then under the direction of Mr. Samuel P. Black, justly celebrated in that region as a classical teacher. The difficulties in the way of his education were now removed; and in the autumn of 1815, after preparatory studies for two years and a half, he entered an advanced class in the University of North Carolina, being then in his twentieth year. Here he was most exemplary in the performance of all his duties, not only as a member of college, but also of the literary society to which he belonged. was regular and punctual at every exercise, and never absent from recitation, or any of the religious services of the institution. So remarkable was his character in this matter, that one of his classmates, who was something of a wag, was in the habit of averring, when he wished his friends to place confidence in his assertions, that the fact he stated was "just as certain, as that Polk would get up at the first call."

The results of such habits were just what might have been expected. At each semi-annual examination, he bore away the highest honors, and graduated in June, 1818, with the reputation of being the first

scholar in both mathematics and classics. Of the former science he was passionately fond, though equally distinguished as a linguist. Of his Alma Mater, he was never forgetful; and of the high estimation in which she held him, evidence was given in June, 1847, when the degree of LL. D. was conferred on him within her walls.

From the University, Mr. Polk returned to Tennessee with health greatly impaired by incessant application to study. Happily a few months of relaxation improved his strength, and in the spring of 1819, he commenced the study of law, (the profession which has furnished eleven of the fourteen Presidents of the United States,) in the office of Felix Grundy, of Nashville, then in the zenith of his fame. Mr. Polk was admitted to the full privileges of the profession at the close of 1820, where he at once took a distinguished position. He immediately established himself amidst the companions of his childhood, where he practised for several years with eminent success, and enjoyed a rich harvest of professional emoluments.

In this country, the politician and the lawyer are usually found in the same person; to this general rule, Mr. Polk was not an exception. He was a republican of the strictest sect; his character was popular: and his style and manner as an orator were eminently adapted to win the favor of the masses. In 1823, he was chosen to represent his own county in the State Legislature, and was two successive years a member of that body. Most of the measures of the then President, Mr. Monroe, received his unqualified approbation, and he was desirous that his successor should be one who had no sympathy for the latitudinarian doctrines in reference to the constitution, which appeared to be gaining ground. Hence he approved of the nomination of Andrew Jackson for the Presidency, made by the Tennessee Legislature in 1822; and in the following year, aided by his vote to call that distinguished man from his retirement, by his election to the Senate of the United States. These gentlemen maintained a warm, personal and political friendship for each other, till they were separated by death. While a member of the General Assembly, Mr. Polk obtained the passage of a law to prevent duelling; and opposed the doctrine of internal improvements by the general government.

On New Year's day, 1824, Mr. Polk was married to Miss Sarah Childress, the daughter of Joel Childress, Esq., a wealthy merchant of Tennessee, a lady who has proved herself well fitted to adorn any station. To the charms of a fine person, she united intellectual accomplishments of a high order. An amiable disposition, gracefulness of manner, beauty of mind, and sincere piety of heart, have always

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been happily blended in her character. A kind mistress, a faithful friend, a devoted wife, an affectionate widow—these are her titles to esteem; and they are gems brighter and more resplendent than usually decorate a queenly brow. Affable, but dignified; intelligent, but unaffected; frank and sincere, yet never losing sight of the respect due to her position, she has won the regard of all who have approached her. May she long be spared to perpetuate the memory of him whose name she bears.

In August, 1825, being then in his thirtieth year, Mr. Polk was elected to represent his district in Congress, and took his seat in December following. He brought with him the principles to which he adhered through all the mutations of party. He was at that time, with one or two exceptions, the junior member of the body, but so conducted himself as to satisfy his constituents, so that he was returned for fourteen years in succession, from 1825 to 1839, when he voluntarily withdrew from another contest, in which his success was not even questionable, to become a candidate for the office of Governor in his adopted State. The same habits of laborious application which had previously characterized him, were now displayed on the floor of the House, and in the committee-room. He was punctual and prompt in the performance of every duty, and firm and zealous in the advocacy of his opinions. He spoke frequently, but was invariably listened to with respect. He was always courteous in debate; his speeches had nothing declamatory about them, were always to the point, and always clear. So exemplary was he in his attendance on Congress, that it is said, he never missed a division while occupying a seat on the floor of the House, and was not absent from the sittings a single day, except on one occasion, on account of indisposition. Such punctuality in a legislator, is rarely witnessed, and therefore it deserves to be remembered.

The first speech which Mr. Polk made in Congress, was in favor of a proposition so to amend the Constitution as to prevent the choice of President, in any event whatever, from devolving on Congress. This address at once attracted the attention of the country, by the force of its reasoning, the fulness of its research, and the spirit of honest indignation with which it was animated. As one of the friends of General Jackson, he entered warmly into the subject, and his speech was characterized by what was with him an unusual degree of animation, in addressing a deliberate body. Henceforth the way was clear before him. Although among his associates in Congress there were many of the ablest men in the nation, an honorable post among them was cheer-

fully assigned him, and he became henceforth identified with the most important transactions in the Legislature. During the whole of General Jackson's administration, as long as he retained a seat on the floor, he was one of its leading supporters, and at times, and on certain questions of vast importance, its chief reliance. Throughout the period of his connection with the Legislature, he was on the most important committees, and originated many momentous measures.

In December, 1835, Mr. Polk was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, and was again chosen to that high office in 1837, at the extra session held in the first year of Mr. Van Buren's administration. During the first session in which he presided, more appeals were taken from his decision than had occurred in the whole period since the origin of the government; but he was uniformly sustained by the House, and frequently by the most prominent members of the opposition. He was courteous and affable toward all who approached him, and in his manner, as the presiding officer, dignity and urbanity were admirably blended. Notwithstanding the violence with which he had been assailed, Congress passed at the close of the session, in March, 1837, an unanimous vote of thanks to its presiding officer, from whom it separated with the kindest feelings; and no man now could enjoy its confidence and friendship in a higher degree. His calmness and good temper had allayed the violence of opposition, in a station for which his sagacity, tact for business, and coolness eminently qualified him. In the twenty-fifth Congress, over which he presided as speaker during three sessions, commencing in September, 1837, and ending in March, 1839, parties were more nearly balanced, and the most exciting questions were agitated during the whole period. At the close of the term. Mr. Elmore, of South Carolina, moved the usual vote of thanks. A long and exciting debate arose, when the resolution was adopted. In adjourning the House, Mr. Polk delivered a farewell address of more than ordinary length, and characterized by deep feeling. Thus ceased his connection with the House, for he declined a reëlection. He had faithfully discharged his legislatorial duties fourteen years.

Thus freed from engagements of this kind, he was taken up by the friends of the administration in Tennessee, as a candidate for Governor. After an animated canvass, during which Mr. Polk visited the different counties of that extensive state, and addressed the people on the political topics of the day, the election took place in August, 1839, and resulted in a majority for Mr. Polk, of more than two thousand five hundred votes over General Cannon, and on the 14th of October following, he entered on the discharge of the executive duties. This

station, however, he filled but two years. As he was not reëlected, he returned with cheerfulness in 1841 to the duties and enjoyments of private life; where, blessed with a competency which enabled him to be liberal in his charities, and to dispense a generous hospitality to his friends, and favored with a wife whose virtues and graces made his home a paradise, little was left for him to desire.

But can a politician stand still? Mr. Polk was not without ambition, and the expectations of his friends were early fixed on the presidential chair. At the session of the Tennessee Legislature, in 1839, he was nominated by that body for the Vice-presidency, to be placed on the ticket with Mr. Van Buren, and with the expectation that he might succeed that gentleman in the higher office; and he was afterwards nominated in other states for that station, but the design failed.

From the time of the defeat of Mr. Van Buren, in 1840, till within a few weeks of the assembling of the national democratic convention, at Baltimore, in May, 1844, public opinion in the republican party seemed to have been firmly fixed upon him as their candidate for reëlection to the station which he had once filled. But in April, 1844, a treaty was concluded by President Tyler, between the United States and the republic of Texas, for the annexation of the latter to the American confederacy. This measure was fruitful in contention, and destroyed the general expectation that Messrs. Van Buren and Clay would be the rival candidates for the presidency. In the midst of this commotion the democratic convention assembled, and after much discussion and many trials of strength in behalf of various parties, the name of Mr. Polk was mentioned, and it operated like magic; harmony was instantly restored, and in the end the vote was unanimous. The honor to Mr. Polk was entirely unexpected, but who could expect him to decline it? On the 28th of November, the result of the election being then known, Mr. Polk visited Nashville, and was honored with a public reception by his democratic friends, together with a number of their opponents in the late contest, who cheerfully united with them in paying due honors to the President elect of the people's choice. A grand procession, and an imposing illumination testified the hilarity and joy of the people.

Mr. Polk left his home in Tennessee, on his way to Washington, the latter end of January, 1845. He was accompanied by Mrs. Polk, and several personal friends. On the 31st of that month he had a long private interview at the Hermitage, with his venerable friend, Andrew Jackson. The leave-taking was affectionate and impressive,

for each felt conscious, that, in all probability, it was a farewell forever. It was the son, in the pride of manhood, going forth to fulfill his high destiny, from the threshold of his political father, whose trembling lips, palsied with the touch of age, could scarcely invoke the benediction which his heart would prompt. Before another harvest moon shed its light upon the spot hallowed by so many memories and associations, the "Hero of New Orleans," and the "Defender of the Constitution" slept that sleep which, till the morning of the resurrection, knows no waking.

Various pleasant anecdotes, illustrative alike of the character of Mr. Polk and of the manners of the country, are told of his "progress" to the Capital, far more attractive than the movements of monarchs. When the steamboat, on which he proceeded up the Ohio river, stopped at Jeffersonville, Indiana, "a plain-looking man came on board," says a passenger on the steamer, "who from the soiled and coarse condition of his dress, seemed just to have left the plough handles or spade, in the field. He pressed forward through the saloon of the boat, to the place where the President was standing in conversation with a circle of gentlemen, through which he thrust himself, making directly for the President, and offered his hand, which was received with cordial good will. Said the farmer, 'how do you do, Colonel? I am glad to see you. I am a strong democrat, and did all I could for you. I am the father of twenty-six children, who are all for Polk, Dallas, and Texas!" Colonel Polk responded with a smile, saying, he was happy to make his acquaintance, feeling assured that he deserved well of his country, if for no other reason than because he was the father of so large a republican family."

On March 4, 1845, Mr. Polk was duly inaugurated President of the United States. An immense concourse of people assembled at Washington to witness the imposing ceremony, every quarter of the Union being well represented. The morning was wet and lowering; but the spirits of the spectators were proof against the unfavorable influences of the weather. All parties joined in the appropriate observance of the day, and the national standard floated proudly from the

flag-staffs of both democrats and whigs.

Mr. Polk entered upon the duties of his administration under somewhat unfavorable auspices. He belonged to a younger race of statesmen than the prominent candidates whose names were originally presented to the Baltimore convention, and it was but natural that he should be fearful of incurring the dislike of some one or more of them, which might tend seriously to embarrass his administration. But his

position personally, was all that could be desired. He had no pledges to redeem,—no promises to fulfill; and he was not a candidate for reelection. He was indifferent, too, as to which of the leading men of his party should be his successor. It was his desire, therefore, to harmonize and conciliate, but, at the same time, to surrender no principle, to maintain his character for independence, and to observe the dignity of his official position. For these reasons, his cabinet was selected from among the most distinguished members of the democratic party, and in it each section of the confederacy was represented.

It will be remembered by our readers, that the treaty for the annexation of Texas, concluded by President Tyler, had been rejected by the Senate of the United States, on June 8, 1844. At the ensuing session of Congress, the subject was again discussed, and joint resolutions providing for the annexation, were adopted on March 1, 1845. The people of Texas, represented in convention, signified their assent to the terms of the resolutions on the 4th of July following, and formed a state constitution, which was forwarded to Washington to be laid before the Congress of the United States by the President. This difficulty was thus settled; as was also the Oregon question, so long an apple of discord between Great Britain and the United States; and the war with Mexico, arising out of the annexation of Texas, soon after ended. All these great events elicited the statesmanlike talents of Mr. POLK and his official advisers, and furnished ground of satisfaction to every lover of his country. Much additional labor had been thrown on the President, but it was all ably and promptly performed.

Other great and grave questions had to be now discussed and acted on, such as the independent treasury system, the tariff of 1846, the course in regard to official appointments, the river and harbor veto, and the territorial bill for Oregon, but our limited space affords no room for discussions, besides which the reader can have no difficulty in obtaining whatever information relative to them he may desire. Congress assembled for the last time during the administration of Mr. Polk, on December 4, 1848. The most important subject then agitating the public mind, was that growing out of the Wilmot Proviso, as to which his opinions had been made known in his last annual message. His vetoes, too, had been attacked, in some of the Northern and Western states, with great asperity, and an effort to amend the constitution, so as to deprive the executive of this power, was said to be in contemplation. He therefore availed himself in his last annual message to vindicate his course, and to express his opinions.

March 5, 1849, the 4th happening on Sunday, General Taylor was

duly inaugurated as the successor of Mr. Polk. The latter gentleman took part in the ceremonies, and rode at the side of General Taylor in the carriage which conveyed them to the Capitol. He was also one of the first to congratulate him at the close of his inaugural address, at the same time rejoicing that he was himself relieved from the anxieties of public life. On that afternoon, he and Mrs. Polk took leave of their friends,—many words of mingled regret and endearment being uttered on both sides,—and in the evening commenced their return to their home in Tennessee. Thus ended the most important administration since that of Mr. Madison. As Mr. Jenkins, one of Mr. Polk's ablest biographers, has remarked, "The settlement of the Oregon question, the war with Mexico, and the acquisition of California, will cause it to be long remembered. Ages hence, if the God of nations shall continue to smile on our favored land, the dweller on the banks of the Mississippi, as he gazes on the mighty current that laves his feet, and beholds it reaching forth, like a giant, its hundred arms, and gathering the produce of that noble valley into its bosom, will bless the name of Thomas Jefferson. So, too, the citizen of California or Oregon, when he sees their harbors filled with stately argosies, richly freighted with golden sands, or with silks and spices of the Old World, will offer his tribute, dictated by a grateful heart, to the memory of JAMES K. POLK. At home, his administration was well conducted. Though the war with Mexico was actively prosecuted for nearly two years, the national debt was not largely or oppressively increased, and the pecuniary credit of the government was at all times maintained; more than double the premiums realized in the war of 1812 being procured for stock and treasury notes. Commerce, agriculture, and every art and occupation of industry, flourished during this period; happiness and prosperity dwelt in every habitation. In the management of our foreign relations, ability, skill and prudence, were displayed. Our rights were respected; our honor defended; and our national character elevated still higher in the estimation of foreign governments and their people."

If Mr. Polk was gratified with the enthusiastic demonstrations of regard which attended him on his journey to Washington, to enter on the duties of his administration, he was far more sincerely pleased with the kindly greetings that everywhere welcomed him as he returned to his home in Tennessee. The one might have been selfish, for he had then office and patronage to bestow; but the other was the genuine homage of the heart. At Richmond, he was complimented with a public reception by the citizens, and the Legislature of Vir-

ginia, then in session; at Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleansat every place he passed on his route,—congratulations, prayers, and blessings attended him, like ministering angels, to the home from which he had gone forth in early manhood to carve out his destiny, and to which he now returned with the harvest of fame he had gathered. Perhaps, however, the most gratifying reception he met with on his whole journey, was at Wilmington, N. C., where the people of his native State, came together in crowds to welcome him. Extensive preparations had been made for his reception, and in replying to the orator who addressed him, he said:-"You remark truly, sir, that I still cherish affection for my native State. I receive its welcome as the blessing of an honored parent. North Carolina can boast of glorious reminiscences, and is entitled to rank with, or far above, many who make greater pretensions. It was from her-her counties of Mecklenburg, New Hanover, and Bladen, that the news of treason in the colonies first went to the ears of the British monarch, and here was the spirit of independence first aroused."

The exhausted health and strength of Mr. Polk now demanded rest. He had been eminently devoted to the duties of his great office; friends and enemies acknowledged that his labors had been too great for his comparatively delicate frame to sustain with safety. He had been for a long time subject to frequent attacks of chronic diarrhea, one of which greatly prostrated him on his journey up the Mississippi. Previously to this period, he had purchased the beautiful house and grounds of his friend and preceptor, Mr. Grundy, situated in the centre of the city of Nashville. Here, surrounded by the conveniences which an ample fortune enabled him to procure, in the constant companionship of his wife and books, and in the frequent society of the friends he esteemed, he had determined to pass the remainder of his life in ease and retirement, fulfilling his duty to himself and the world, but not entering again into public life. On arriving at Nashville, after a few days' rest, he took possession of this elegant mansion, and seemed to be rapidly gaining strength; he devoted himself to the improvement of his grounds, and all now seemed to promise long life and enjoyment.

But, alas, how often are the brightest expectations of man doomed to the darkest disappointment! Even those highest in rank and excellence, are compelled to meet the common lot. Some of the friends of Mr. Polk were observing the rapid improvement of his health, and were struck with his erect and healthful bearing; and the active energy of his manner, which gave promise of long life. His flowing gray

locks alone made him appear beyond the middle stage of life. About the first of June, being detained within doors by a rainy day, he began to arrange his extensive library, and the fatigue of reaching his books from the floor to the shelves, brought on a slight fever, which the next day assumed the form of his old disease. The best medical aid was obtained, and for some days no alarm was cherished. But, in defiance of the most eminent skill, he continued gradually to sink, so that when the disease left him four days before his death, there did not remain energy enough for healthy reaction, and on the evening of Friday, June 15, 1849, he expired, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

The close of life now rapidly approaching was contemplated by Mr. Polk with all the solemnity which its vast importance demanded: and all his conversations on the subject were worthy of his character. He evinced a very thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, which he said he had read a great deal, and deeply reverenced as divine truth: in a word, he had been throughout his life theoretically a Christian: and now, more than ever felt the importance of genuine piety. He said that when in office he had several times seriously intended to be baptised; but the cares and perplexities of public life scarcely allowed time for the requisite solemn preparation; and so procrastination had ripened into inaction, till it was now almost too late to act. About a week before his decease, he received the sacraments of baptism and of the Lord's Supper from the Rev. Mr. M'Ferrin, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with whom he had long been personally intimate, and then calmly awaited the change which should remove him to another state of existence. About half an hour preceding his death, his venerable mother entered the room, and kneeling by his bedside, in the presence of Major Polk, brother of the ex-president, and the other members of the family, she most solemnly and feelingly commended the departing soul of her son to "the King of kings, and the Lord of lords." Previously to this act, he had taken leave of all he held dear; and could thus say with Lord William Russell, "the bitterness of death is past."

On the day following, the mansion of the lamented ex-president was shrouded in mourning, and the corpse, dressed in a plain suit of black, with a copy of the Constitution of the United States at its feet, lay in one of the drawing rooms, to receive the last look of thousands of friends and neighbors; and the cortege which accompanied his remains to their last resting place, was composed of almost the entire population

of the city and adjacent country. The plain silver plate on his coffin, contained merely these words:

"J. K. Polk, Born November 2, 1795, Died June 15, 1849."

At Washington, and in every part of the Union, due honors were

paid to his memory.

In person, President Polk was of middle stature, with a full angular brow, and a quick penetrating eye. The expression of his countenance was grave, but its serious cast was often relieved by a peculiarly pleasant smile. His private life, which had ever been upright and pure, secured to him the esteem of all who had the advantage of his acquaintance.

The Hon. Mr. Chase, in his "History of the Polk Administration." says very truly, "No one who ever knew Mr. Polk ever considered him a brilliant genius. His mind possessed solidity rather than imagination. His perception was intuitive, and his memory retentive to an extraordinary degree, while his judgment rarely led him into error. His manners were remarkably affable, and always made an impression upon those who knew him. Among his intimate friends, he indulged his wit and humor with perfect freedom, and they always found him a pleasant and instructive companion." The prominent trait of his character was extraordinary energy. In college, at the bar, in his political canvasses, and in the discharge of his executive duties, he was alike distinguished for his untiring industry and indomitable will. This frequently induced him to devote his attention too much to minute details, and had the effect of impairing his constitution. He invariably succeeded in inspiring his friends with his own enthusiasm; no obstacle could deter him from the energetic discharge of his duty. Subsisting upon the plainest food, and perfectly temperate in his habits, he accustomed himself to a rigid system of diet, which alone could have sustained him in his political conflicts. As Mr. Chase has remarked, "Posterity will pronounce his eulogium!"











